NIAMATULLAH'S HISTORY OF THE AFGHANS

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NIRODBHUSAN ROY

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NIAMATULLAH'S HISTORY OF THE AFGHANS

Part I—Lodi Period
Translated with variorum notes

BY

NIRODBHUSAN ROY, M. A.

Reader, Visva-Bharati

SANTINIKETAN

ABBREVIATION

Ain	:	Ain-i-Akbari
A. N.	:	Akbar Namah
A. U. MS	:	Allahabad University Manuscript
B. I.	:	Bibliotheca Indica
B. M. MS	:	British Museum Manuscript
C. A. S. I.	:	Cunningham's Archaeological Survey of India
C. C. I. M.	:	Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum
C. H. I.	:	Cambridge History of India
C. P. K. D.	:	Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi
D. G.	:	District Gazetteer
E. H. I.	:	Elliot and Dowson's History of India
E. I.	:	Epigraphia Indica
En. Islam	:	Encyclopaedia of Islam
F. A. E.	:	First Afghan Empire in India
I. G.	:	Imperial Gazetteer
J. A. S. B.	:	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
J. I. H.	:	Journal of Indian History
L. U. MS.	:	Lucknow University Manuscript
M. A.	.	Makhzan-i-Afghani
M. A. S. I.	:	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
Med. Islam	:	Medieval Islam by G. V. Grunebaum
Memoirs	:	Memoirs of Babur
M. R.	:	Maasir-i-Rahimi
M. T.	:	Muhtakhab-ut-Tawarikh
M. U.	:	Maasir-ul-Umara
N. K. P.	:	Newal Kishore Press
Ojha	:	G. H. Ojha's Rajputana ka Itihasa
P. U. L.	:	Patna University Library
Raghubir Ms	:	Manuscript belonging to Dr Raghubir Sinha
Rieu	:	Catalogue of Persian Mss in the British Museum
Sarkar Ms	:	Sir Jadunath Sarkar's Manuscript
S. E. I.	:	Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam
S. I. M. H.	:	Studies in Indo-Muslim History by Hodiwala
T. A.	:	Tabaqat-i-Akbari
T. D.	:	Tarikh-i-Daudi
T. M. S.	:	Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi
T. N.	:	Tabaqat-i-Nasiri
Tod	:	James Tod's History of Rajastan
T. S.	:	Tarikh-i-Shahi
T. S. S.	:	Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi
W. M.	:	Waqiat-i- Mushtaqi

First Impression
December, 1958

Printed and Published by : Bidyut Ranjan Basu,
Santiniketan Press, Santiniketan, West Bengal

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PREFACE

A hint thrown out by Sir Jadunath about the urgent need of revising Dr. Dorn's translation of the *Makhzan-i-Afghāni* started me on this work. I began by a comparison of Dr. Dorn's translation with the manuscript copy of the *Makhzan-i-Afghani* No. 100 of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. I noted general agreement between the English translation and the Persian original in the facts of the Lodi period, so that the emendation of the wrong names and the addition of copious notes appeared to be the only courses necessary for improving upon Dorn's translation. I next searched for more manuscripts of the *Makhzan.* Dr. Raghubir Sinha of Sitamau transcribed for my use the copy in the Saraswati Library, Udaipur, but it was found to be an abridged version of the *Makhzan.* Professor Hasan Askari of Patna College lent me his copy which was identical with the text from which Dr. Dorn had made his translation. I also borrowed Sir Jadunath's copy transcribed from the manuscript in the Kapurthala State Library. It contained the historical portion only, commencing with the Sur dynasty. As I began to study it, material divergences between Dorn's translation and the original Persian became evident. I then consulted the two other manuscripts of the *Makhzan* in the Asiatic Society, Nos 101 and 102, of which the historical portion of No 102 was found to be almost identical with that of No 100. Subsequently in a paper entitled *Makhzan-i-Afghani and Tawarikh-i-Majlis Araee* مخزن افغانی و تواریخ مجلس ارای which was published in the journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, vol. XIX. 1953, I established the fact that the Persian original which was the basis of Dr. Dorn's translation was written by Ibrahim Batani under the name of *Tawarikh-i-Majlis Araee,* and that it was only an enlarged version of 'Abbās Sarwāni's *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* تاریخ شیر شاهی.

This was borne out by the concluding words of the British Museum Ms[1] Add 21, 911 and the Patna copy of the *Tawarikh-i-Majlis Araee,* miscalled *Makhzan-i-Afghani,* which are as follows :

مصنف اصل این تاریخ شیر شاهی عباس سروانی است ـ چون بعضی
مقدمه چنانچه احوال باز بهادر واقعه کرانیان و تذاکر لوحانیان و بعضی منقوله

---

1 Dr. Raghubir Sinha, D. Litt. M. P. microfilmed and photostated for my use the *B. M. Ms of Makhzan-i-Afghani*, Add 21, 911 which is the "recension represented by Dorn's translation but more condensed than the latter in many places, Rieu. 1. 212.

دیگر داخل درین تاریخ نبود؛ بنابران نقص می نمود ـ و درین‌ولا احقر العباد ابراهیم بتنی انرا از تاریخ نظامی که در احوال شیر شاه و اسلام شاه نوشته است و بعضی مقدمه از کتاب مخزن افغانی که از تصنیف نعمت الله سمانی است انتخاب نموده داخل این تاریخ کرده باتمام رسانید[1]

"The original author of this *Tārikh-i-Sher Shāhi* is 'Abbās Khan Sarwani. As certain episodes, such as the history of Baz Bahadur, the Karranis, the Lohanis and certain other events were not included in this work, it was apparently defective. (For this reason) the humble servant Ibrāhim Batani incorporated into this narrative selections from the *Tārikh-i-Nizami* which also deals with the reigns of Sher Shah and Islam Shah and certain extracts from the account of *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, composed by Niamatullah Khan of Samana and brought this *Tārikh-i-Sher Shāhi* to completion."

Tawarikh-i-Majlis-Araee, in other words, Ibrahim Batani's work was, according to the admission of its compiler, different in scope and content from the *Makhzan-i-Afghani*. Ibrāhim Batani's main objective was apparently to glorify Sher Shah and represent him as a hero of the Afghan race, for which reason he followed 'Abbās Khan in either explaining away or glossing over his foibles and shortcomings. His accounts of (i) the capture of Rhotas by Sher Khan, (ii) Sher's part in the battle of Daurah and of Chausa are materially divergent from that of Niamatullah, though there is a general agreement between Niamatullah and Ibrāhim Batani as regards the facts of the Lodi period.

Having noted that the original manuscript on which Dr. Dorn had based his translation was different from the work of which Niamatullah was the author, I examined two more manuscripts of the *Makhzan*, (a) the Aligarh and (b) the Lucknow University copies which strengthened my view that Dr. Dorn had not translated the *Makhzan-i-Afghāni* of Niamatullah. These two manuscripts had a general identity with Ms. No 100 of the Asiatic Society with some variation of words in places. The Lucknow University Ms. had a few additional pages on the early career of sultan Sikandar Lodi which are not found in any other copy. After finding out by such laborious investigation what I believe to be the real *Makhzan-i-Afghāni*, I edited the historical portion of the text,

1 Colophon of the copy of the B. M. Ms., Add 21, 911, (Raghubir Ms, Part II)

leaving out the facts of Jahangir's reign, account of the Afghan saints and the various Afghan tribes. The English translation of the edited text dealing with the Lodi rule is offered in the first part, along with translation of selected excerpts from :

i تاریخ شاهی المشتهر تاریخ سلاطین افاغنه
Tarikh-i-Shahi known also as
Tarikh-i-Salatin Afaghina,

ii واقعات مشتاقی Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi

iii تاریخ داؤدی Tarikh-i-Daudi

iv تاریخ شیر شاهی (مسمی تحفه اکبر شاهی) Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi

Niamatullah's *Makhzan-i-Afghani* is noteworthy among the Afghan chronicles on account of the style and quality of narration. The author's father Habibullah Khan was an employee in emperor Akbar's court. Niamatullah himself acted for sometime as the librarian to Khan Khanan Abdur Rahim and subsequently as historiographer (واقعه نویس) at emperor Jahangir's court. Nizamuddin Ahmad and Muhammad Qasim Ferishta had set up the form and standard of historical writing. Niamatullah set those writings as his model. He borrowed largely from Nizamuddin Ahmad the facts of the Lodi period, sometimes copying paragraphs *verbatim*. Like Nizamuddin and Ferishta he understood the scope of history, for which reason he excluded from his book, all fables and anecdotes which formed a distinguishing feature of the Afghan chronicles. If he introduced a story he was careful to insert منقول است "It is narrated" and conclude it with the words و الله اعلم "God knows the truth." The attainments of the author and his discriminating attitude increase the importance of his work.

I would farther state that the Asiatic Society's Ms No 10) has formed the basis of my edition of the Persian text which remains unpublished. This *Ms* is the oldest, being transcribed in 1090 A. H. / Feb, 1679-Jany. 1680. Niamatullah calls it,

تاریخ خان جهان المشتهر ـ مخزن افغانی

Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan better known as *Makhzan-i-Afghani.*

Begun at the instance of the Afghan noble Khan Jahan Lodi in 1018 A. H. / 1609-1610 A. D., it was concluded in Zihijjah 1021 / 1613 A. D.

I collated it with the following manuscripts,

1. Asiatic Society Ms. No 102 (called by the scribe *Jahangir-Namah* on the concluding page) completed on the *22nd Safar, 1272 A. H.* Nov. 1853 A. D.

2. Aligarh University *Ms.* The concluding pages having been added recently, the date of transcription could not be traced out.

3. Lucknow University *Ms.*, copied by one Muhammad Rafiq Mustafabad *alias* Rampur, and completed on the *13th Shaban 1282* A. H. 1866.

I examined also the following *MSS.*

1. Udaipur Saraswati Library Ms, a copy of which was made for me by Dr. Raghubir Sinha. It is, however, an abridged version of the *Makhzan.*

2. *Patna Manuscript* of alleged *Makhzan*, which, as stated above, is Ibrahim Batani's *Tawarikh-i-Majlis Araee.*

3. *British Museum copy* of *Makhzan*, Add 21, 911 which was microfilmed and later on photostated for my use by Dr. Raghubir Sinha.

4. *A. S. B.* Ms No 101 of *Makhzan* agrees substantially with the two copies (Nos 100 and 102), so far as the main historical facts of the Lodi period are concerned but is written in words different from the two other copies.

The reader will find that the English translation of the *Makhzan* covers only ninety pages; the remaining pages are devoted to English translation of excerpts from the different Persian sources already mentioned, explanatory notes and a brief resume of each of the Afghan king's relation with the neighbouring Rajput kingdoms and an Introduction. Niamatullah treated each of the Lodi kings in a separate chapter. For the convenience of the reader I have subdivided each chapter into different sections and inserted the corresponding date of the Christian calendar by the side of the Hijra era. As a consequence Niamatullah's matter-of-fact narration would give the reader the flavour of a modern historical work. In the Introduction covering fifty pages, I have endeavoured an appraisal of the character and personality of the Lodi monarchs, on the basis of published and unpublished Persian and to, a certain extent, Hindi sources.

In the English rendering, I have not made a word for word translation. In view of the great divergence between the Persian and the English idioms, I have taken care not to sacrifice the underlying sense, while following as closely as possible the words of the Persian original. The task has not been easy.

I should like to draw the readers' attention to the copious annotations I have made, utilising all the Afghān chronicles and some general histories compiled during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir which are as follows :

1. *Wāqiāt-i-Baburi* واقعات بابری, 2. *Akbar Nāmah* اکبر نامه, 3. *Ain-i-Akbari* آئین اکبری, 4. *Wāqiat-i-Mushtaqi* واقعات مشتاقی, 5. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* طبقات اکبری, 6. *Tārikh-i-Daudi* تاریخ داؤدی, 7. *Tārikh-i-Ferishta* تاریخ فرشته, 8. *Tārikh-i-Shāhi* تاریخ شاهی 9. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* منتخب التواریخ, and 10. *Maāsir-i-Rahimi.* مآثر رحیمی, 11. Humayun Namah همایون نامه.

The study of the Lodi and Suri periods in isolation from each other appears to have caused some confusion and misunderstanding in regard to the respective parts played by the various kings of the two dynasties. The role of such a king as Sher Shah has been over-emphasised, whereas that of the Lodi kings obscured. My integrated study of the whole period from 1451 to 1556 A. D. based on a mass of Persian chronicles in the original has led me to view in a new perspective the part played by the Lodi monarchs and set it forth in a way very different from that offered in a standard history like the Cambridge History of India. Let scholars judge the result.

My warmest thanks are due to Prof. S. N. Bose, F. R. S, Vice-Chancellor, Visva-Bharati, for his interest in this work and materially assisting me in my studies by borrowing manuscripts, to Prof. Hasan Askari of Patna College, for the loan of his manuscript, Mr. Roy. B. North, M, A. (Oxon), lately Professor of English and his successor, Mr. David. J. McCutchion, M. A. (Cantab) for helpful suggestions in the English translation. To Dr Raghubir Sinha, D. Litt. M. P. I owe a special debt for the loan and microfilming of the Mss noted above,

I must also express my appreciation for the help offered to me by Mr Bimal K. Datta M. A. Librarian, Visva-Bharati, Mr Sibdas Chowdhury, Librarian, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Father Antoine Librarian, ST. Xavier's College, Calcutta, and to the Librarians respectively of the Universities of Allahabad, Patna, Lucknow, and Aligarh, and of the National Library, Calcutta. Mr Nripendra C. Bhattacharya, Special Officer, Visva-Bharati, Mr J. N. Biswas Manager, Visva-Bharati Press and his staff, including Mr. Muhammad Musa who set the Persian in type, have obliged me by their unfailing patience and co-operation.

A chapter on the structure of administration under the Afghans, their relation with the non-muslims and contemporary life and thought along with an index will be incorporated into the second volume.

Finally, I ask the readers' indulgence for the slips and inaccuracies that might inadvertently occur, as I had to study the manuscripts, do the work of annotation, and proof-reading, without the aid of either a Persian or an English knowing assistant.

N. B. Roy

INTRODUCTION

The rise of the Afghāns to kingship in the 15th century is an episode as romantic and unforeseen as that of the Ottomans in south-eastern Europe. Ever since the Turkish conquest of the Gangetic valley in the 13th century, the Afghāns had been drawn, though in small numbers, to the Indian plains by the attractions of soldiering and were often employed to police military outposts in the Do-Ab.[1] The first Afghān who is known to have risen to political eminence was one Malik Shahu Lodi. He defeated and slew Malik Bihzad, governor of Multan under Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, in 1340-41 A. D. and made a bid for independent power. In the following century another Lodi chieftain, Daulat Khān Lodi became the *defacto* ruler of Delhi, about 1413 A. D during the disorganization following Timur's break into India. His ascendancy was, however, short-lived ; he was overthrown by Sayyid Khizr Khan in 1414 A. D. Two other Afghān chiefs of the Lodi clan, Malik Sultan Shāh Lodi *alias* Islām Khan and Malik Asad Khan Lodi, rose to power as feofees respectively of Sirhind and Sambhal. These chiefs were only successful captains of war, subservient and dependent on the sultan of Delhi. The assumption of royalty by the Afghāns was a prospect that could not be dreamt of by any member of the Afghān race. It was, therefore, a signal achievement of Malik Bahlol to raise his rude clansmen who excelled only in fighting and banditry to the status of the rulers of Hindustan. He accomplished a task which was as significant as that of Stephen Dushan, the founder of the greatness of the Servs in the 14th century A. D. But while the memory of the Serv is a source of inspiration to his people, the genius of the Afghan has yet to be understood and appreciated. There is hardly any doubt that Bahlol, like the Servian hero, gave high aspirations to his race so that they forgot their clannish jealousies and exclusiveness, under his able leadership and united in a common endeavour to impose their sway upon others. Bahlol thus inaugurated a new period in Indian history which, with a fourteen years' break, lasted for a century, (1451-1556 A. D.). It is pertinent to note that after the loss of their political supremacy, the Afghāns built up an independent political power in Eastern India and it required half a century of hard fighting on the part of the Mughal emperors to put down the Afghāns here. Udhuānālā 1576 and Daulambapur

1 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, B. 1, 85, *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhi* by Zia Barani, B, I, 57-58.

1612 were thus the necessary sequel to Pānipat and the finale of the drama of the Afghān sway in India.

The early career of Bahlol is obscure. His mother died at the time of his birth, while his father Kālā Lodi, son of Malik Bahrām of Multan was killed in fighting with the Niyāzi Afghāns during his boyhood. He was therefore brought up under the fostering care of his uncle Islām Khān who became the governor of Sirhind under Sultan Mubārak Shah. Bahlol's ability and enterprise gained the affection of his uncle who gave his daughter in marriage to him and nominated him as his successor to the government of Sirhind, in preference to his own son Qutb Khān.

The assumption of the government of Sirhind is the first event in Bahlol's career that we definitely know of and it was marked by the commencement of a bitter hostility with his cousin, Qutb Khān. Sultan Muhamad Shah backed up Qutb Khān's claim to Sirhind and sent an army under the well-known commander, Sikāndar Tuhfa, to vindicate the rights of his protégé. He also directed Jasrath, the Gakkhar chief of the Panjab to co-operate with them. Bahlol was thus completely outmatched and retired towards the Siwalik foot-hills along with his Afghān following. Qutb Khan and Sikandar Tuhfa, however, sought to entrap the Afghāns before they could get out of their clutches. They inveigled Bahlol's uncle Malik Firuz to a conference, on solemn oaths of safety, had him placed under arrest, and then attacked the Afghān camp. A carnage followed. Bahlol managed to escape. His uncle Malik Firuz became a prisoner and was sent away to Delhi. [*Tarikh-i-Ferishta, lith. ed. 173-4*]

A single stroke hurled Bahlol from the height down to the earth. He was reduced overnight to the position of a homeless wanderer and highway robbery became the only source of his livelihood. As Ferishta says, "Bahlol borrowed sums of money from his friends and acquaintances and divided it among the Afghāns. He united with a large number of them and took to highway robbery and plunder of the country" (T. F. 174). It was not long before there was a turn in the tide. His uncle Malik Firuz contrived to escape from Delhi and joined him. Uncle and nephew now acted in concert. In 1437 A. D. the feeble Delhi monarchy seemed tottering to its fall. The Langahs rose in Multan ; Ibrahim Shah Sharqi marched to Delhi ; many Hindu ruling princes headed by the Raja of Gwalior withheld their tribute. This was presumably the occasion when Bahlol, seconded by the arms

of his uncle Malik Firuz, gained back Sirhind. Such an act was a challenge to Sultan Muhammad Shah's authority who again deputed an army against him under his wazir, Hisam Khan. The engagement took place in the Ambala district in which Hisam Khan was defeated and forced to retreat to Delhi.

Henceforward Bahlol's power grew rapidly. He now overawed the weak sultan Muhammad Shah by an exhibition of arms and compelled him first to remove his minister Hisam Khan from office and then to have him killed and Hamid Khan appointed in his place. Bahlol repaid the sultan's subservience by rushing to his aid, when Sultan Mahmud Khilji of Malwa invaded Delhi in 1440 A. D. Assisted by Qutb Khān and Dariyā Khan, Bahlol put up a fight which was indecisive on the first day. The day following the Malwa Sultan, disturbed by a dream at night and the reported invasion of his territory by the Gujrat army, agreed to a termination of hostilities and went back to his country. Sultan Mahmud's failure raised the prestige of Bahlol who was now honoured by the sultan with the titles of *Farzand*(*T. A.* 291) and Khān-i-Khānān.

In the following year (1441 A. D.), Bahlol was deputed on a campaign against Jasrath Gakkhar. He entered into an understanding with him rather than wasting his strength in a fruitless war. According to Nizāmuddin Ahmad, Jasrath put into Bahlol's ears the idea of seizing the crown of Delhi. [*T. A.* B. I. 292]

II

The following decade 1441-1451 A. D. is an important land-mark in Bahlol's career, of which only faint glimpses are offered by Ni'amatullah and other chroniclers. According to the former, Bahlol led two expedition against Delhi, once during the closing years of Muhammad Shah's reign, about 1443-44 A. D. and again, after the transfer of the crown to his son 'Alāuddin 'Ālam Shah, in 1445-46 A. D. Both these attempts proved abortive. The court party under Qutb Khan and Rai Pratap who were opposed to Hamid Khan, attributed these assaults upon the capital to a collusive understanding between the wazir and Bahlol and wanted to have the former removed out of the way. Instigated by them the faint-hearted sultan sent Hamid Khan to prison, but he was rescued from it by his partisans and placed at the head of affairs in Delhi. 'Alāuddin, owing to his feebleness of character, had lost the regard

of the citizens of Delhi. He now transferred himself to Badaun and held court there. The existence of double courts[1] —one at Delhi and the other at Badaun—now dissolved the central government of Delhi. A state of political disintegration, called '*Muluk-ut-tawāif*' in the words of the chroniclers, prevailed. Ahmad Khan Mewati and Dariya Khan Lodi ruled respectively over Mewat and Sambhal; their authority extended up to the capital from opposite directions. Daud Khan Auhadi held Bayana; while the Do-Ab was divided amongst a number of chiefs—Rai Pratap of Bhongaon in Mainpuri, Qutb Khan of Rapri, in the same area, and 'Isā Khan of Koil in the Aligarh district, and Malik Bahlol governed the whole country from Dipalpur to Panipat; so that 'Alāuddin, before his transfer to Badaun was the nominal sultan of Delhi, as is clearly borne out by the phrase, " Badshah 'Alam *az Delhi tā Palam*" ('Alāuddin Ālam ruled from Delhi to Palam). As 'Alāuddin quitted Delhi, a political vacuum was caused which was filled up by Bahlol's bold leadership and enterprise. How this was accomplished is set forth in detail by Ni'amatullah, and Rizqullah.[2] Suffice it to say here that Bahlol realised that Hamid Khan's power rested on a very precarious foundation and that it could be toppled down by a mild stroke of his lance. Prejudice against the Afghans was universal and deep-rooted. He, therefore, decided to seize power by stratagem rather than by force. On being summoned to Delhi, after Hamid Khan's elevation, the first thing that he did was to disarm all suspicion in Hamid Khan's mind by solemn promises of fidelity. He successfully played upon the Khan's feeling, who out of his own accord put him in charge of the fortress of Delhi. The keen-witted and practical Afghan next took the step of dismissing his master Hamid Khan by a mixture of finesse and dissimulation which is paralleled by Sher's capture of Rhotas. This account can be read in the following translation. He found the crown of Hindustan lying on the earth, as it were, with no body having the courage to don it. He picked it up with his sword and having placed it on his own head, sat on the throne of Delhi, 19th April, 1451 A. D.

1 'Ālam Shah's short reign was signalised by the issue of coins, C. C. I. M. II, 77, N. Wright : The Sultans of Delhi—Plate XI. 920.

2 Rizqullah's account is more cogent than that of any other authority, (*Wāq'iat-i-Mushtāqi*)

III

Bahlol's next task was the consolidation of his position. An Afghān owing to his rudeness and cruelty was hated by the Muslims and the Hindus alike. To conquer this prejudice and win the respect of the subject population was a most difficult task. How he performed it is not known, but it appears that his policy after his accession was marked by mildness. He wrote apologetically to the phantom Sultan 'Alāud din at Badaun and let him live in obscurity. But before he could conciliate and win the loyalty of the smaller chiefs, his throne itself was menaced by a formidable invasion.

Ever since Timur's invasion, the frequent inroads of the Mongols had kept the small principality of Multan in perpetual unrest. At length the people, sick of strife and discord, had elected Shaikh Yusuf Qureshi, a descendant of Shaikh Bahāuddin Zakariya, ruler of the place. He was deposed by Qutbuddin Langah, chief of the Langah tribe about 1441 A. D. and sought asylum under Sultan Bahlol. The occupation of Multan by the Langahs threatened to cut off one of the recruiting centres of Bahlol and he went out on a lightning expedition to Lahore to restore his authority.

This was the occasion when Sultan Mahmud Sharqi was invited by the leading nobles of Delhi to attack and occupy Delhi. Backed up by Dariya Khan Lodi of Sambhal who deserted from Bahlol to the Sharqi Sultan, the Jaunpur army, commanded by Fath Khan Harwi, marched to Delhi and laid siege to the citadel where the members of Bahlol's family, his partisans and the small garrison had shut themselves up. The Afghans held out obstinately under the leadership of Bibi Mattu, widow of Islām Khan, Khwaja Bāyazid, son of Bahlol and Sikandar Sarwani. Shortage of supplies eventually told upon their spirits and they tendered proposals of capitulation through the envoy Sayyid Shamsuddin to Dariyā Khan Lodi.

Then the scene suddenly changed. The envoy appealed to Dariyā Khān's racial sentiment and to his spirit of chivalry in defending the honour of the besieged kinswomen. Dariyā Khān handed back the keys of the fort and asked the Afghāns to keep their spirits until Bahlol's arrival. He then went to the Sharqi sultan, informed him of his having rejected the offer of capitulation in order to decide the whole issue by a clash of arms in the field. The short-sighted Sharqi king accordingly deputed him and Fath

Khan Harwi, with an army of 30,000 cavalry and thirty-nine elephants against Bahlol who was swiftly marching back from the Panjab. The contest took place at Narila, thirty miles distant from Delhi. Bahlol's army, computed at the highest estimate at fourteen thousand, had little chance of success against the enemy who had a decisive superiority in numbers. As the battle opened, a slight disorder was caused in the Sharqi van, when one of their elephants wounded by an arrow ran amuck, but the course of the contest was turned by Dariyā Khān's sudden flight from the field at the words of Qutb Khān.

> "Your mothers and sisters are besieged in the fort and what sort of a man you are that you fight on the side of an alien, without having any regard for your own honour".

The Lodi commander at once wheeled off the field with his Afghān following. This unexpected desertion broke the morale of other ranks of the Sharqi army. Fath Khan fought, but was defeated and taken prisoner. Sultan Mahmud Sharqi quitted Delhi, which once again acknowledged Bahlol as its master, 1452 A. D. (T. D Ms. T. S. 16-19).

IV

Bahlol followed up this victory by an expedition to the outlying territories which had previously been dependent on the Sayyid kings. Mewat lying in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital was the first district which he entered in force. Its ruler Ahmad Khan bowed before the new monarch and made over several *parganas* to him who then crossed into the DO-Ab. Rai Pratap of Bhongaon, 'Isā Khān of Koil, Dariyā Khān of Sambhal and Mubārak Khan of Sakit, and Qutb Khān of Rapri and the chief of Etawah acknowledged Bahlol's authority and were confirmed in their respective positions.

The advance of Bahlol in arms as far as Etawah and the submission of the chiefs, betokened the rise of a new power in Delhi and called forth a renewed challenge from the monarch of Jaunpur. Sultan Mahmud however, was not made of stern stuff. After a brief tussle on the border of Etawah, he came to terms, but hardly was the ink on the treaty dry, when the question of the control of the key-post of Shamsābād, 18 miles north-west of Fategarh town, caused a renewal of hostilities. In the clash of arms which took place at Shamsabad,

Bahlol gained possession of the fort and drove back the Sharqi army. But before a final decision of arms could be made, Sultan Mahmud died.

Sultan Muhammad Shah who now ascended the Sharqi throne came to terms on the basis of the *status quo*, but Bahlol's demand for the liberation of Qutb Khan Lodi who had been taken prisoner in the previous campaign with Sultan Mahmud caused a fresh flare-up of hostilities. The arena of combat shifted this time to the Rapri district, but before the issue could be settled by a decisive battle, Sultan Muhammad Shah was removed from the scene by intestine strife and Sultan Husain who came to the throne of Jaunpur in 1461 A. D. was discreet enough to enter into an armistice for a period of four years on the principle of the *status quo*.

During the period 1451-61 A. D. Bahlol had pursued a defensive policy in his warfare with the Sharqi kingdom which, by reason of the stability of its administration, the stateliness of its court and its patronage of learning, enjoyed the general support of the Muslim population. Sultan Husain's accession introduced a new vigour into the Jaunpur monarchy and Bahlol avoided a head-on collision for two decades until he found his adversary at a disadvantage in 1480 A. D. Hence the period from 1461 to 1480 is marked by brief actions alternating with truce. Bahlol met Sultan Husain at Chandwar about 1462 and after a week's fighting, entered into a three years' truce. On the expiry of this period, Husain again rushed to arms, when Bahlol met him at Bhadawar, south-east of Agra in 1466 A. D., but an armistice drawn up by Khan Jahān, a partisan of Bahlol, caused a suspension of hostility which was renewed after a short interval and followed by a truce.

In 883 A. H./1479 Sultan 'Alāuddin Alam died at Badaun and Sultan Husain, who was his son-in-law, took possession of it and annexed Sambhal to his territory. This sweep of arms was followed by a blow at the Lodi capital itself. Husain marched to the bank of the Jamuna and encamped at Khwaja Khizr, opposite Delhi. Bahlol again trembled on his throne. As Ni'amatullah says "The Sharqi army, now gained predominance owing to its strength and numerical superiority" but Husain agreed to a truce, by ceding all acquisitions made by him west of the Ganges.

As Sultan Husain started again in a leisurely way, after the conclusion of a solemn engagement, Bahlol all on a sudden delivered a terrific assault on him from the rear and scattered his following.

He seized the flower of the Sharqi nobility, including the wazir Qutlugh Khan and Husain's chief queen Malika Jahān, and thus by a single blow broke the backbone of Husain's strength. Bahlol pursued him across the districts of Aligarh and Etah to Rampanchu near Rapri in Mainpuri district, when Husain turned round and again entered into terms on the basis of the mutual restitution of conquests.

Henceforth Bahlol's ascendancy was steadily on the increase. He condescended to set at liberty some of the Jaunpur noblemen taken captive by him, in return for which Husain relinquished all his recent conquests. Successive defeats followed by territorial cession shook the confidence of the army in Husain's leadership. Hence defeats, such as at Sonhār, at Dhopamau in Rapri followed one upon another, and sultan Husain in his extremity was obliged to march to Gwalior.

Royalty shorn of its lustre is rather contemned than respected. The Rajput clans, such as the Bhaduriyas, settled round Agra now rose in rebellion. They attacked and plundered Husain's disspirited army on its way across the Jamuna to Gwalior.

Sultan Bahlol now took up an aggressive role. Etawah which had long been recognised as the frontier outpost of Jaunpur was now captured by the sultan of Delhi. Husain came forward with an army fitted out by the Gwalior Raja but was decesively beaten. The Sharqi king thereupon retreated to the kingdom of Bhatha from which he was escorted to Jaunpur by the Baghela troops. Bahlol's annihilating triumphs following one upon another broke down the military power of Jaunpur and paved the way for the establishment of the Lodi supremacy in Northern India. Sultan Husain tried desperately to avert the dissolution of his power, but it was futile. He was chased away from Jaunpur to Bahraich. The Sharqi capital itself fell into Bahlol's hands who put it in charge of Mubarak Khan. But as soon as he left the city, Husain returned and gained possession of it which again passed into Bahlol's hands, with the advance back of the Lodi sultan in arms.

Husain again fell back on Bahraich. The Lodi monarch now installed his son Barbak Shah on the throne of Jaunpur who marked his occupation of it by issuing coins in his name in 884/1479 A. D.

In the long and chequered history of India, the extinction of the short-lived Jaunpur monarchy may not be a matter of great moment, but the historian cannot overlook the fact that Jaunpur was a nursery

of art and culture, the home of Muslim emigré poets and saints who, by the example of their life, preaching, and conduct, improved the level of the general culture in eastern India. As in the present, so in the past. The *Maghribis* (Muslims living in the western part of India) have always scored over the *Mashriqis*,[1] (Easterners) by virtue of their greater hardihood and vigour, daring and enterprise. The fall of the Sharqis with their greater economic and military resources only reinforces this point.

The last acts of Bahlol were to safeguard his new conquests by appointing his grandson 'Azam Humayun, son of Bāyazid, in charge of Kalpi and to stabilize his territory in the middle Do-Ab by a demonstration of military force. The unremitting toils of constant warfare eventually broke down his health. While marching towards Koil, he was taken suddenly ill at Malawali within the Sakit *pargana* and died shortly after in 1489 A. D.

Such is the career of this extraordinary man, who, originally a tradesman, and a bandit leader, sat on the throne of Delhi and elevated his kinsmen, a race of shepherds and herdsmen, brigands and warriors to royal power in India. By a persevering course of warfare mingled with craft, which foreshadowed the future policy of the Afghan kings in India, Bahlol fashioned a new power which spread over a large part of northern India under his son and successor, sultan Sikandar Lodi.

Sikandars' Reign
(1489-1517)

Sultan Sikandar's reign covering the closing years of the 15th and the first sixteen years of the 16th century is a formative epoch in Indian medieval history. His administration from 1489-1517 A. D. is held to be a period of violent religious reaction, having its counterpart in the reign of sultan Firuz and emperor Aurangzib. Such a view, however, rests upon an imperfect study, being based on the extant English translation of the Persian annals and is not countenanced by the unpublished manuscript sources, such as the *Tārikh-i-Dāudi* and the *Waq'iāt-i-Mushtāqi* and the *Tārikh-i-Shāhi*.

1 Babar used the word "Purab" in his *Memoirs*, Beveridge, II, 527. Zia Barani derides the people living in eastern India by calling them a set of portly rice-and-fish-eating people. *T. F.* B. I. 182.

published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. These original Persian sources offer a picture of the sultan's way of life and thinking, materially divergent from that which is offered in our standard historical works.

In personal appearance Sikandar was a most handsome man.[1] A Muslim monarch, he shaved his face.[2] Later on the fable was invented in order to strengthen the hold of the canon-law that the sultan died prematurely owing to this irreligious act, so strangely at variance with the law and practice of the Muslim world. Sikandar drank wine privately and unlike sultan Firuz bin Rajab and puritanical Aurangzib did not impose any ban on its use by his subjects. So life was easy and gay under him.

Sikandar was not very particular in the observance of the externals of the faith, such as fasting (roza) and the five daily prayers (namāz). He was exceedingly fond of music and all that went with such indulgence. According to the chroniclers, he gathered together ministrels and singers who were unequalled in that age. Four cherubic pages, skilled in the playing of lute, dulcimer, guitar, and *vina* (Bin), took the leading part in the musical performance that began after the first watch of the night. It is related in the chronicles that as they played the different airs to the accompaniment of music, the sweet strains produced such an effect that the dead man came to life and sometimes the melodious voice and the radiant face of players laid such a spell that the audience forgot their wine-cups.[3] The curious thing about this warrior-king was that he was a poet and the specimen cited by Badauni is alive with a note of exalted passion.

> Into the eye of the needle of her eyelashes,
> I shall pass the thread of my soul.
> If *Gulrukhi* could describe the charms of her teeth,
> He would say they were water-white pearls of the
> ocean of her speech.

1 Shaikh Hasan a *darvish* was so attracted by Nizam's charming appearence that he made frequent visits to him, Nizam disliked it and once singed Hasan's beard in the fire, (*T. S.* B. i. 29)

2 Beard carried great sanctity in the Muslim world. In Russia Tzar Ivan, the Terrible said, "To shave the beard is a sin that the blood of all the martyrs cannot cleanse."

3 T. S. B. I. 48. T. D. A. U. Ms. 41, and Sarkar Ms. say that the Sultan did not admit the musicians directly to his presence. Two Sayyids (descendants of the Prophet) (1) Sayyid Ruhullah, and (2) Sayyid Ibn Rasulullah were commissioned by him to receive the musical stars and hear their recital. Sikandar himself attended the

A king with such a taste and temper was expected to listen to the call for art, science and philosophy rather than to the cry of "Religion in danger" and senseless destruction of the altar and hearth of his own subjects.

Yet the Muslim chroniclers would have us believe that the glory of Sultan Sikandar's reign lay in the persecution of the Hindus. Ni'amatullah says that the sultan systematically pulled down temples in territories conquered by him. Sujan Rai Bhandari who composed his chronicle—*Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* (Cream of Histories) in 1695-96 A. D. has indicted him with having ordered the Hindus to bind a piece of blue cloth to their garment on the shoulder and imposed an increased rate of jaziya on that wealthy section of the Hindus who wore turban on their head. But this fact is not mentioned in any other source. According to Ni'amatullah, Sikandar levelled all the temples at Narwar in Gwalior territory to the ground, but Abul Fazl, writing about eighty years after Sikandar's reign, noted the existence of old temples in the very place.[1] It is apparent that the Muslim chronicler's sweeping statement is either a wishful thinking or a bombast intended to glorify Islam by recording the abasement of the Hindus. An account incorporated in the *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* makes it clear that the sultan did not allow defacement of the images on the walls in such a well-known centre of Hindu influence as Udayagiri, in Chanderi *sarkar*. According to this story, a Muslim soldier was moved at the sight of an image carved on the wall of the shrine and removed it surreptitiously to his camp. The high authorities took the matter up and the Muslim soldier, brought to the dock, made a solemn affirmation of his innocence, saying that the image had, by its own miraculous power, flown away to him. The magistrate without being convinced, put him in the pillory, ordering the restoration of the image back to its place. But strangely enough, the re-disappearence of the image from its place and its discovery in the possession of the same man led the credulous judge to believe in the supernatural power of the image and the innocence of the Muslim who was set at liberty. It is a fable but a pointer to the fact that the violation of Hindu shrine under Sikandar was not easy.

performances. Ten clarionets were played in his court after he first watch of the night. The airs were restricted to four, (a) Malkos, (2) Kalyān, (3) Kānerā, (4) Kanerā Husaini.

1 Ain, lith. ed. II. 90

II

Instances of intolerance on the part of Sikandar are no doubt, well-known. The religious fair, holy bathing and religious service at Mathura was forbiden but the immersion and the fair at the celebrated site of Kurukshetra was allowed to continue. The Brahmin Budhan was burnt to death for upholding the view that Hinduism and Islam alike were true faiths, but it should not be forgotten that this decree of death was passed by the whole body of theologians assembled in a convocation and Sikandar had no other alternative than to comply with it. Kabir, on the other hand, was allowed to carry on non-sectarian propaganda. Miyan Bhuwa (भव), his vizier, was presumably of Hindu origin,[1] though his identity with Misra Bhāva, author of the Bhāva Prakāsa is very doubtful[2] A repressive policy against his Hindu subjects jarred with his scheme of conquest and was opposed alike to his temper.

Sultan Sikandar has been said to be a "champion of his faith" and "bigotry" to have formed a "fundamental part of his character", but he often talked in a language that showed a certain amount of freedom from dogma. It is stated in the *Waq'iāt-i-Mushtāqi* and the *Tārikh-i-Dāudi* that there was a debate in his court as to the capacity of a bird to communicate its feelings to its own species by the technique of sound. The theologians maintained on the authority of the religious texts that the birds could make such exchanges. Khwaja Shaikh S'aid, an eminent courtier, supported this view on the authority of the religious texts. Sultan Sikandar, without protesting against this view, asked Shaikh Sa'id if that was his individual opinion. In other words, the sultan wanted the shaikh to probe the depth of his

1 Dr Rieu writes that Bhuwa might have been a Hindu, but considers it unlikely for two reasons; His father Khawas Khan was a Muslim 2 Sikandar was a "*ruthless persecutor of the Hindus* and could not have conferred the highest office upon men of Hindu faith." The second view is no longer tenable. Rieu 11.472

2 Aufrecht, Bodleian cat. 809
Rieu. Br. Mu. Cat. 472-478, Ethe. I. O. Cat.

own mind and give an answer by the exercise of his faculty of reasoning. Such an appeal to individual judgment as against the authority of the religious texts endows Sikandar's personality with a stamp very different from that with which he is credited.[1]

True, theological learning was encouraged by Sikandar in the good old style of his predecessors on the throne of Delhi. Two great scholars Shaikh 'Abdullah Tulumbi and Shaikh 'Azizulla Tulumbi migrated to the Gangetic valley from their original home in Multan, during the turmoil following Timur's invasion, and settled down in Delhi and Sambhal respectively. They gave a great impetus to the study of logic and metaphysics which had been restricted until their times to the study of *Sharh-i-Shamsiyah and Sharh-i-Sahaif*, the former being the well-known treatise on logic composed by Najmuddin 'Umar bin Ali Qazwini. Shaikh 'Abdullah's lectures drew students from different parts of the country, some of whom e. g. Miyan Ladan, Jamal Khan Kambu, and Miyan Shaikh of Gwalior won great celebrity. Sultan Sikandar himself attended his class. He entered with silent steps, sat, listened and retired with humility at the end of the discourse, by offering the customary Muslim salutation. Shaikh 'Azizullah of Tulumbi who had an equal command of theological learning trained a number of pupils, of whom Miyan Hatim Sambali and Shaikh Ilah Diya Jaunpuri were renowned. The latter won distinction by writing commentaries on Hedāya and Kāfiya and notes on *Tafsır-i-Madārik*.

Mahmud bin Shaikh Ziāuddin Muhammad was the great lexicographer of sultan Sikandar's reign. He compiled the lexicon, *Farhang-i-Sikandari alias Tukfa-us-S'adat* which was very uncommon in its kind, on account of each of its section having been divided into two halves of simple and compound words. Mahmud began his literary career as a poet and claims the distinction of composing verses of different types. Subsequently he took up the work of preparing the lexicon under the patronage of Khwāja Shaikh S'aid. It was completed on the 10th Safar, 916 A.H/May 19, 1510 A. D. and dedicated to sultan Sikandar[2] The progress in lexicography and theological studies should not obscure the fact that there was a marked keenness among some of the great intellects of the age for a mutual understanding of the values of each

1 *W. M.* Ms. *T. D., A. U.* Ms. 93-94

2 Rieu, Br. Mu. Cat. II 496
Ethe. I. O. L. 1886

other's culture. Sultan Sikandar himself encouraged the tendency by ordering the compilation of a treatise on pharmacopeia and medicine on the basis of the Sanskrit *Ayurvedic* texts. The Greek treatises on Medicine by Hippocrates and Galen had for long become the property of the civilized world by being rendered into Arabic. It was an original idea to study and evaluate the ancient Hindu texts on the diagnosis, treatment and cure of diseases and prepare a digest by comparison with other systems. Sikandar's efforts bore fruit in the great compendium, *Tibb-i-Sikandari alias M'adan ush shifa-i Sikandar shahi* which was compiled from, Sanskrit by Miyan Bhuwa in 918 A H/ 1512 A. D.

In his age Lucknow situated in the bosom of a Hindu zone, became an important seat of administration and consequently a centre from which Muslim culture radiated in the country around. It is, however, a notable fact that the faith and discipline of the Hindus reacted on the Muslim mind and the curious thing was that Ahmad Khan, son of Mubarak Khan, governor of Lucknow, renounced Islam and embraced the faith of his Hindu subjects, for which he was sent in chains to the court. A Brahmin Dungar became interested in the learning of the Muslims (*Kutb-i-'Ilmi*). He won a knowledge of Persian and his style combines grace along with a soft mystical note which is a characteristic of the Persian Sufi classics. He was rivalled by a Muslim theologian Shaikh Rizqullah who wrote psalms on adoration of Krishna in Hindi under the title of *Wujub-Jap-Niranjan*, the book being unfortunately lost to us. The shaikh was perhaps still greater as an orator. It is narrated in the *Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar*[1] that persons who attended his discourses went into raptures and sometimes wept at his eloquence. Kabir, alleged to be a Muslim, spread in Hindi the message of love and friendship. The greatest intellect of the age was Shaikh Jamāl Kambu. He was a theologian, traveller, poet and writer of a *memoir of Saints* (Siyār-ul-'Ārifin). Badauni says that his *Diwans* alone consisted of eight to nine thousand couplets. He had cultivated the acquaintance and friendship of Jāmi, the celebrated mystic poet and was received with the same amount of regard in the royal court, with which the humanists of the Renaissance period in Italy were welcomed in the courts of princes like Lorenzo de Medici. The elegance and melody

1 *Akhbar-ul Akhiyar*, 11th. ed. 174

of his lyric poems raised him to the rank of a second Khusrau.[1] Here is a specimen, written to commemorate his association with the sultan[2] :

The tunic of my body is made of the dust of your lane,
The tears of my eyes have stained and torn it to pieces.
His arrow has lacerated my thigh,
Now I shall be flying towards the bow of his eye-brow.

Such an intellectual milieu refleced the growing tendency of the Hindus and the Muslims to collaborate in political matters. Raja Tilakchand of Baksar, (Unao dt.) rendered Bahlol valuable armed assistance. Rai Pratap Deo of Bhongaon often sided with him, while Bahlol's adversary sultan Husain was befriended by Hindu Rajas, like the Rajas of Baghelkhand, Gwalior, and many smaller chiefs. After the extinction of the Sharqi kingdom, Raja Man became the protector of Muslim chiefs such as S'aid Khan Sarwani and Babu Khan, who were expelled by sultan Sikandar from his dominion. The Raja's hospitality and geniality towards the Muslims and his liberal religious views made him so beloved of them that he was taken to be more a Muslim than a Hindu. As Niamatullah says :

"Though Raja Man professed himself to be a Hindu, he had inwardly accepted the nobility of the Islamic creed and owing to the sincerity of his belief in Islam, no Muslim ruler could gain an ascendancy over him."

Hindu nobles like Kapurchand of Gwalior and Ugrasena Kachhwa acted respectively as emissaries on behalf of Sikandar to sultan Mahmud Khilji and to Bihjat Khan, governor of Chanderi.[3] Raja Vikramjit, son of Raja Man, became a firm ally of sultan Ibrahim and laid down his life on the field of Panipat, in 1526 A. D.

Nevertheless Sikandar's reign was marked by a violent warfare with the Rajput chieftains. Fighting is the salt of an Afghan's life and he freely indulged it under Sikandar by mowing down all opposition to his authority in the long belt of territory stretching from Narwar to Patna and from Kangra to Rewa. The wide expansion of the Afghan power was facilitated by the foundation of the city of Agra in 1501 A. D. The city was so called from its situation on a large elevated ground, ahead (āge आगे) of a small mound sighted by the sultan on his

1 M. A. Ghani, *H. P. L. L.* II. 117
2 T. D. A. U. Ms. 87
3 T. A. Eng. tr. 589, T. F. 11th. ed. 186

way (राह) downstream from Mathura. This 'āge-i-rah' (आगे+राह ; popularly called Āgra) turned into a spear-head of Sikandar's operations against the Hindu Rajas, the jumping-off-ground from which he challenged and terrorised the Hindu chieftains of the Do-Ab and Central India. The city, however, justified its name by becoming later on the meeting-ground of different faiths and peoples. As Sikandar's chief title to fame rests on his conquests, it is necessary to sketch an outline of it here.

III

Miyan Nizām — that was the original name of Sikandar—was the second of sultan Bahlol's six sons, by a Hindu wife, Bibi Ambha,[1] the daughter of a goldsmith. Early in his youth he was put in charge of Delhi and tutored in administration by Qutlugh Khan, the eminent Sharqi wazir who was taken prisoner in the fighthing with sultan Husain. He had had schooling in warfare with such persons, as Dariya Khan Nuhani.[2] When his father died suddenly, a party headed by 'Isā Khan, nephew of the deceased sultan, opposed Nizām Khan's accession on account of his having been the son of a Hindu mother, but his mother ably pressed her son's claims which were backed up by Khān Khānan Nuhani and others. Sikandar got the better of his rivals by an adroit step. At the head of an army he marched to Jalali where he was met by his supporters and declared sultan on the 16th July, 1489 A. D.

The first task of sultan Sikandar after his accession was to put down his rivals (a) 'Azam Humayun, governor of Kalpi, son of his brother Khwaja Bāyazid, (b) his elder brother Barbak Shah, ruler of Jaunpur, (c) and his brother 'Ālam Khan, governor of Rapri, who had asserted his independence by assuming royal title. The differences among the three candidates made the task for him comparatively easy and he knocked them out in the course of a single campaign. He first marched to Rapri and having ousted his brother, 'Ālam Khan, gained him over to his side by conferring upon him the Fief of

1 Ziba in T. F. 179, Hima in T. S. 7, Ambha in M. A. [L. U. Ms.]

2 M. A. (L. U. Ms.) appends a short account of Sikandar's career as a prince which does not appear in any other copy of M. A. seen by me. T. S. B. I. 81-88 gives a brief sketch of Sikandar's fighting with Tatar Khan Lodi.

Etawa. He then turned his arms against his more formidable rival, Barbak Shah. This prince had ruled Jaunpur with all the appurtenances of royalty and naturally wanted to occupy the throne on his father's death. He won over to his side the great Afghan warrior Miyan Muhammed Farmuli *alias* Kālāpāhār, governor of Bahraich and Oudh and marched as far as Kanauj, where he was opposed by the forces of sultan Sikandar. Kalapahar commenced the action by a charge into the centre of Sikandar's army. He was taken prisoner and so easily won over by Sikandar's diplomacy that he turned his sword against the very prince whose cause was taken up by him and routed his army. The sudden *volte face* of his general obliged Barbak to seek refuge in Badaun and eventually submit to his brother. Sikandar treated him with great consideration. He conducted him back to Jaunpur and reinstated him in his position. Sikandar rounded off this military expedition by a march across Kalpi and Baksar to Bayana.

The principality of Bayana, carved out by Shams Khan Auhadi at the end of the 14th century, had lasted for well-nigh a century as a buffer state between the rival sultanates of Delhi and Malwa. In 1446 A. D. sultan Mahmud Khilji of Malwa had recognised her independent status by investing the contemporary ruler with a gold crown. Ever since that time Bayana had always leaned for support on the Malwa sultan or failing it, on the Sharqi king against any possible encroachment from Delhi. When in the closing year of his reign, 1488-89 A. D. sultan Bahlol had forced his way across Bayana to Alhanpur near Ranthambhor, Sher Khan, governor of Chanderi marched his army in aid of sultan Ashraf and chased back Bahlol to his own dominion.

Sikandar's accession followed by the consolidation of his authority in the Do-ab had altered the aspect of affairs. Sultan Ashraf, ruler of Bayana, recognised this alteration in political balance by an acknowledgement of Sikandar's authority. His temper was frayed when Sikandar demanded its cession in return for the grant in fief of Jalesar, Chandwar, Marhara and Sakit. Bayana was not in the 15th century what it is today. It was then a flourishing city, with a fort covering a perimeter of nearly six miles. A centre for the manufacture of indigo, sugar and war-implements, it was well-known for its mangoes and a variety of cake called *Kandura*. A Muslim military outpost ever since the foundation of the Delhi Sultanate, it had grown into importance

under the Auhadi dynasty in the 15th century when a thriving Muslim population adorned the city with mosques and minarets. Sultan Ashraf was naturally reluctant to field. Leagued with his kinsman, Haibat Khan Julwani, commander of Agra, Sultan Ashraf bade defiance to Sikandar who put him down after a hard fighting in 1492 A. D.

Sikandar had not enjoyed respite at Delhi for a month when his attention was called away by a formidable outbreak in Jaunpur. The Bāchgoti tribe of Rajputs, never before mentioned in history or after, rose to a man, in concert with sultan Husain. They gathered together a force of one hundred thousand horse and foot, and gained mastery over the whole country from Jaunpur to Kārā. They drove away Mubārak Khan, governor of Kara, slew his brother Sher Khan, and hustled Barbak Shah out of Jaunpur. The king of Baghelkhand, either in league or sympathy with the rebels, took Mubārak Khan captive in course of his passage across the Jhusi ferry, and the eastern province was practically lost to Sikandar.

The news roused the sultan's spirits. With extraordinary rapidity he marched a distance of about six hundred miles in ten days and confronted the rebels on the bank of the Gumti.

The account given by Abdullah in the *Tārikh-i-Dāudi* offers the clue to Sikandar's success against the multitudinous host headed by the Bāchgoti chief, Juga. When Sikandar came within striking vicinity of the Gumti, he enquired as to the strength of the force under him. "500 horsemen" was the reply "and the enemy near at hand". Sikandar got ready for action and recited the *Fatiha-i-Khair*. After having traversed some distance, the sultan again enquired as to the enemy position and their strength. "Not more than three kos' came the reply and, "the enemy had a force of 300,000 foot and 15000 horse". Sikandar undaunted advanced at break-neck speed. The Bāchgoti leader was in a complacent and sanguine mood. All on a sudden he was disconcerted by the din caused by the Afghan soldiery and ran away, leaving even his suit of apparel behind. Sikandar won a victory without fighting, by swift marches and adroit leadership. The Bāchgoti chief was in league with sultan Husain who now stepped forward. The young sultan of Delhi, however, manouvred to conclude terms with the Sharqi sultan by a diplomatic proposal of combined operation against Juga. Husain scotched this proposal by challenging Sikandar to arms.

"Juga is my servant. Your father was a soldier and I parried sword with him. You are a silly lad and if you indulge in tall talk, I shall smite you with the foot rather than with the sword.'[1]

Sikandar was now obliged to draw the sword. He had led his cavalry far away from his base against an enemy who was strong in numbers and depended upon the strength of the fortified base of Chaund. Sikandar got over this crisis by his resourcefulness and leadership. He met the leaders of the different Afghan clans in a war-council and asked them to sink their differences in the face of the crisis. The appeal produced the effect. The Afghans swore to stand by and took their respective position on the day of battle. The Lodis and the Sahu-khails in the van, the Farmulis on the left, the Nuhanis on the right, and the Sarwanis in the rear. The Afghans fought with the courage of despair and routed sultan Husain who now fled to Bihar.

Sikandar returned to Jaunpur and re-appointed his brother Barbak Shah to the viceroyalty, but he was again driven out by a rising of the zamindars. The result was the return of the Lodi army to Jaunpur directed by the genius of Sikandar who had encamped at Oudh in anticipation of such an outbreak. One army led by Mubarak Khan Nuhani came marching from the side of Kara and the other from Oudh under Muhammad Farmuli. They converged on Jaunpur and effectually crushed the rebels.

An otherwise obscure place, tucked away from the main highway across north India, Jaunpur had flourished under the Sharqi kings into a centre of light and learning. That light now went out. Fast and quick was the decay of this city, which had become the "*Shiraz of the East*", and the cause of civilization suffered a set-back in eastern India. The academy of Azamgarh, about 50 miles north of the Sharqi Capital, is now the sole memorial of the glory that was Jaunpur in the 15th century.

1 T. D. Allahabad University Ms, 50 Sarkar Ms. Do

III

The long belt of country stretching southward from Kalpi to Mirzapur and beyond, and comprising such strongholds as Mahoba, Kalinjar, and Bandhugarh has ever been the home of warlike peoples who rose to power in this region in successive epochs. The Chandellas absorbed the shock of the early Turkish inroads. They were succeeded by the Baghela Rajputs who, according to a Sanskrit poetical work *Virabhānudayakāvyam*, ruled this country for several generations.[1] Their distinction lay in their opposition to the Afghan supremacy in the eastern part of the modern Uttarapradesh. Raja Bhida of Niamatullah was a great ally of sultan Husain and presumably backed him up in his stand against Sikandar. Hence the campaign against Bhatha (Pānnā in T. D. Allahabad University Ms) was the natural sequel to the fall of Jaunpur.

Chunar defending a flank of the Baghela kingdom was the first target of Sikandar. Here he was successfully opposed by the officers of sultan Husain, where upon he diverged west to the Bhatha territory stretching along the southern bank of the Jamuna. According to Ferishta, the Raja met Sikandar on his way at Kantit in the Mirzapur district, but distrustful of his intention fled away at night, leaving all his equipage behind. Sikandar revenged himself by devastating the country round Arail opposite Allahabad and then passed swiftly like a hurricane across Kara and Dalmau to Sambhal.

In the following year 900 A. H,/1494-95, Sikandar again invaded the Baghela territory, and took Raja Bhid who was unprepared for such an event by surprise. Bir Singh Deo, the son of the Raja, opposed the Afghan army at the pass of Kathauli, (?) but Sikandar forced his way across it with his light cavalry and swept to the fortress of Bandhugarh. The Raja, terrified by the sudden thrust of the Muslim cavalry, fled towards Sirguja, and died on the way.

It was, however, a phyrric victory that was won by Sikandar ; for his army was brought to the verge of annihilation in course of retreat. Horsemen had their strength sapped away for lack of stimulants like opium and koknār, while the befouled water which was scarce decimated the horses. Thus the victory proved to be completely illusory. Sikandar's distress roused sultan

1 *M. A. S. I. No. 21*

Husain to a renewed combat. He owed his salvation at this crisis to the junction of Raja Sālivāhan's force with his own, and sultan Husain within an ace of victory yielded to inexorable destiny. About a couple of years back, the Sharqi sultan had mocked Sikandar by calling him a lad with whom he disdained to cross sword. He had however been so severely mauled by the Afghan king that he was now obliged to seek shelter under 'Alāuddin Husain Shah, the sultan of Bengal.

The Ganges in its long meandering course across northern India takes many twists and turns. On reaching the present Bengal-Bihar border, she takes a fascinating curve near Kahalgaon, an obscure mart on the loop line of the Eastern Railway, before debouching on Bengal. This site flanked by the Sikriagali ranges on the east and the barrier of the river on the north-west was chosen by sultan Husain for his life of self-exile. Sikandar swept across Bihar in a lightning campaign to as far as Barh, on the Kiul river, when he was confronted by the Bengal army, under sultan 'Alāuddin's son Danyāl. A treaty of peace was concluded and Sikandar went back to Jaunpur, after reorganising the administration of the conquered territory and receiving the homage of the Hindu Raja of Tirhut on his way back.

The titanic struggle lasting for more than half a century between the two Muslim monarchs ended in the integration of the territories of Jaunpur and Bihar into the kingdom of Delhi. Bihar long before an enclave of Delhi now became a pasture-ground of the Afghans, supplying shortly after a line of kings to rule over northern India.

The obliteration of the Sharqi power and the elimination of rivals in the Gangetic valley left Sikandar free to turn his arms against the Raja of Bhathā. Raja Salivāhan had been his ally, but Sikandar desired to strengthen this friendship by a matrimonial alliance. The proposal was rejected. War followed. The Baghela infantry was routed by the Afghan light cavalry armed with bows. Hence Salivahan retired to the impregnable defences of his fortress-capital Bandhugarh, situated sixty miles south of Rewa. Sikandar pierced his way across the defiles into this inaccessible place, plundering and devastating the country on the way. His heroic exertions to reduce the fortress were successfully resisted by the garrison and Sikandar had to retire in disappointment to Jaunpur. So severe was the punishment and the destruction so heavy that Baghelkhand was

henceforth eliminated from the ranks of powers capable of taking offensive action against the Afghan sultans of Delhi.

Sikandar's sweeping victories followed by the extension of his dominion had advanced the Afghans to the highest position in the state and the army and opened boundless opportunities for their contribution to the arts of peace. The Afghans as a race are rent by such an ineradicable clannish spirit and mutual jealousy that they now plotted against the very leader who lifted them to the pinnacle of power and glory. According to Ni'amatullah, as many as twenty members of the military aristocracy joined together in a plot to raise Fath Khan, a brother of the sultan on the throne. But the prince himself divulged the secret and the conspirators were punished by imprisonment and exile. Asghar, *hakim* of Delhi, was gaoled. S'aid khan Sarwani, *hakim* of Lahore, was banished along with his associates, such as Tatar Khan, and Muhammad Shah.

IV

The small Tomara principality of Gwalior attained during the 15th century a new and extraordinary eminence in the political life of northern India. The Tomaras had gained occupation of the lofty fort during the invasion of Timur in 1398 A. D. and under the leadership of their chiefs, Bir Singh and Biram Deo (so called by the Muslim annalists) successfully resisted the assaults of Delhi and upheld the struggling small states of Bhongaon and Etawa in their fight against the Delhi sultan. Their overthrow at the hands of sultan Bahlol about 1480 A. D. foreboded the downfall also of the Tomaras. But it was put off for nearly forty years by the statesmanlike policy of Raja Mān who adopted a double-faced policy towards his rival, the sultan of Delhi. He continued friendly exchanges with Sikandar and at the same time offered covert support to the rebels against his authority. Raja Mān had complimented Sikandar by sending his nephew to him about 1491 A. D. when the sultan marched past the border of Gwalior territory to Bayana. About ten years later he had sent his confidential envoy Nihal to the royal court at Sambhal, but during the same period he had harboured rebels like Rai Ganesh, S'aid Khan Sarwani of Lahore and strengthened his kingdom by building a chain of

fortresses which it took Sikandar many years to batter down. In 1500 A. D. Sikandar commenced action against this state by attacking Dholpur, the chief of which was tributary to Raja Mān. A three-pronged attack was delivered on the small fort from the direction of Mewat, Bayana and Rapri, and when it was about to end in failure, Sikandar arrived personally on the spot and took up the conduct of operations. He put the fort under an effective blockade and terrorised the inhabitants of the locality by a ruthless devastation of the country. As Ni'amatullah says "Sikandar left no crop or tree standing, over an area of fourteen miles round Dholpur". In fear Raja Manikdeo fled to Gwalior, and the garrison capitulated. Yet Sikandar was obliged to agree to a treaty with Raja Mān on terms which showed that his victory over Manikdeo was illusory.

After four years' respite, hostilities were renewed by the sultan by an attack on the outlying fortress of Mandrail, situated 12 miles south-east of Karauli. It was reduced by a policy of terror. Rebellion was, however, endemic in this region and the sultan decided to root out the unrest by founding the city of Agra which would be a sentinel of authority and the spearhead of Muslim advance in a predominantly Hindu locality. The sultan's real design in the establishment of this city was manifested, when he reconquered Dholpur from its Raja Mānikdeo in 1506, and followed it by a campaign against Gwalior. But Raja Mān hurled back the mighty host.

In countries where life is valued and human deeds are counted, such an event would have been commemorated in saga, but there is hardly any echo of this event in the indigeneous Sanskrit and Hindi literature. The Persian annals credit Sikandar with victory but the failure of the supplies, on account of the guerilla warfare of the Rajputs and the ambuscade attempted by Raja Mān leave hardly any doubt that the sultan's attack on Gwalior was a grand failure.

In the following year the sultan probed the defences of Gwalior by delivering an attack on Utgarh, an outer bastion of the Tomara capital. The campaign was launched this time from the recently captured base of Dholpur. Resolute fighting and personal command of Sikandar forced the garrison to capitulate, but the Afghan victory lost much of its thunder owing to the loss of a large body of troops on the return journey. The Tomara fortress city, after an exhausting warfare, still stood four-square in a level country, defiant to the ruler of Delhi and Agra, due to the policy of its ruler, Raja Man.

At the beginning of the 16th century, the kingdom of Malwa was rent asunder by a civil strife. Sikandar who set no limit to his ambition, wanted to assert his authority over this county. The first step was the capture of Narwar ruled by a Hindu Raja who fluctuated in his allegiance to the Malwa sultan and the Gwalior Raja. He was attacked by Jalal Khan, governor of Kalpi, and when he failed to carry the fort by assault, Sikandar personally conducted the siege and starved the garrison to submission.

The capture of Narwar cut off the possibility of military assistance to Raja Man from the side of Mewar and provided him with an excellent spring-board for an attack on the kingdom of Malwa, which ever since the accession of sultan Nasiruddin was rent asunder by civil strife. Nasiruddin had rebelled against his father sultan Ghiyasuddin in 1500 A. D. He was paid back in his coin by his son Shihabuddin who took up arms in 1510. Sultan Sikandar encouraged him in his ambitious designs, but nothing came out of it. In 1511 A. D. sultan Mahmud II ascended the Malwa throne but was opposed by a faction under Malik Bihjat who espoused the cause of the sultan's eldest brother, Sahib Khan, entitled Muhammad Shah. Sultan Mahmud Khilji, thereupon summoned to his aid the valorous *Purbiya* Rajputs ; forty thousand of them gathered round him under the leadership of Medini Rai. The spectre of the revival of the Hindu ascendancy in Malwa after the lapse of nearly three centuries roused the apprehension of the Muslim nobility. Malik Bihjat Khan, the sword-in-arm of Prince Sahib Khan entitled Sultan Muhammad, made a pathetic appeal to sultan Sikandar asking for his military aid in defence of Islam, and offering him in return the crown of Malwa, 1513. "Mahmud Shah", he wrote, "has delegated full authority into the hands of the *kafirs*. He has deviated from the laws of Muhammad ; has reduced Muslims into misery and destitution and has exalted the kafirs and the Rajputs. If detachments of his army are sent to this region, the *Khutba* would be read and the coin struck in his name who is the Defender of the Faith."[1] Sikandar responded to this appeal by telling off two of his leading commanders, S'aid Khan Lodi and 'Imad-ul-mulk at the head of an army to back up the cause of Sahib Khan. When they arrived near Chanderi and encamped within ten miles of the city, Bihzād Khan did not make any sign of delivering up the place. On the other hand he made up

1 T. A B. I. III

matters with sultan Mahmud Khalji, forcing Sāhib Khan to join the Delhi army encamped on the Malwa frontier.[1] This *entente cordiale* between the Malwa sultan and the Muslim nobility prompted the Purbiya Rajputs to displace most of the Muslim officers in sultan Mahmud's service. Sultan Sikandar took advantage of this turn in the political situation to occupy Chanderi on behalf of sultan Muhammad Shah (Sahib Khan) [2]. Sikandar's cautious policy was justified by the contemporary central Indian politics, highlighted by the keen rivalry between the kingdoms of Gujrat and Mewar for ascendancy over Malwa which was a prey to civil strife. Each of them was careful to preserve the integrity of the state, prompted by the over-powering consideration of the balance of power and Sikandar showed political insight by eschewing a policy of aggression.

Sikandar pursued a similar policy of judicious restraint towards the Langahs of Multan. In 1452 A. D. Bahlol Lodi was called away from the campaign against sultan Qutbuddin Langah by the advance of sultan Mahmud of Jaunpur on Delhi. He had later on deputed another army against sultan Husain Langah, under his son Barbak Shah and Tatar Khan Lodi, governor of the Panjab. They failed to take Multan by assault and left much equipment behind.[3] Sultan Husain Langah's relation with Sikandar was friendly. But the accession of his grandson Firuz after his death on 31st August, 1501 and his harshness towards his minister Jam Bāyazid altered the relation. The Jam rebelled and applied to Daulat Khan Lodi, governor of Lahore, for assistance. Agreeably to Sikandar Lodi's command, Daulat Khan entered the territory of Multan at the head of an army. Firuz was no match for the combined army. Daulat Khan offered him very lenient terms under which Firuz ceded Shorkot to Jam Bāyazid and recognized Ravi as the boundary between the Panjab and the Multan.[4]

1 Eng. tr. T. A. B. 1. III 589, 592-93, 596

2 Bayley — History of Gujrat, 259, Babur's account of Chanderi history is very cogent. "When Sultan Nasiruddin passed away, one of his sons Sl. Mahmud...took possession of it (Mandu) and its neighbouring parts and another son called Muhammad Shah laid hands on Chanderi and put it under sultan Sikandar Lodi's protection who in his turn took Muhammed Shah's side and sent him large forces. Beveridge, Memoirs, II, 593

3 Eng. tr. III. 793-795

4 Eng. tr. T. A. B. 1. III. 801, 803

According to Ni'amatullah, Muhammad Khan, ruler of the principality of Nagaur yielded allegiance to sultan Sikandar, when he was confronted with the hostility of his brothers 'Ali Khan and Ababakr. Such acknowledgment of paramountcy was evidently nominal, but it shows the commanding height of Sikandar's position. In 1510 A. D. there was a friendly exchange of presents between him and sultan Mahmud Begada, (1458-1511) who raised the Gujrat monarchy to the pinnacle of glory, and any extension of the foot-hold of Delhi over Nagaur which was within the ambit of Gujrat king's influence must be ruled out as beyond possibility. Daulat Khan Khalji, a member of the Malwa royal family was the commander of Ranthambhor. During the disorganization that followed the ascendancy of Medini Rai, he aimed at the crown of Malwa and opened overtures for military asistance with 'Ali Khan Nagauri who had been appointed at Sheopur by Sikandar after his expulsion from Nagaur. In 1516 A. D. Sikandar marched to Bayana and waited for the favourable turn of event. Meanwhile relation between Sultan Mahmud and his general Medini Rai was strained to the highest pitch. The sultan bolted out of his capital with a handful of bodyguard to Gujrat for asylum, while Medini Rai went away to Rana Sanga. A violent fighting now impended. In such a situation, Daulat Khan shrank from entering the arena of contest and sultan Sikandar marched back to Agra with his scheme of conquest unfulfilled. Next year 1517 A. D. he died.

Sikandar's reign marks an epoch in the history of northern India. He re-established the authority of Delhi over a large stretch of territory extending from Kabul[1] before its occupation by Babur

1 Sayyid Ali Khan, son of Ghazi Khan who was cherished by Ma'sud Mirza, descendant of Timur, was the ruler of Kabul in 1504 A. D. He owed allegiance to Sultan Sikandar. When Kabul was occupied by Babur, Sayyid Ali Khan transferred Bhera, Khushab Chenab and Chiniot to Daulat Khan Lodi, Memoirs of Babur, 883

Regarding Sultan Sikandar's authority over Kabul Babur writes in the following words :—

"In the year 910/1504-5 which was the date of my first coming to Kabul. . . . the government of Behreh, Khushab, and Chenab was held by Syed Ali Khan. He read the Khutba in the name of Iskander Bahlol. Being alarmed at my inroad, he abandoned the town of Behreh. . . , After a year or two, the Afghans having conceived suspicions against Syed Ali on my account, he became alarmed at their hostility and surrendered his country to Daulat Khan . . . Hakim of Lahore" King *Memoirs of Babur* II. 97

in 1504 A. D. to Barh in Bihar and stood forth as the most powerful monarch of his age, so that all dispossessed princes and aspirants for royalty in northern India looked up to him for assistance. As a sovereign he combined in his character qualities of contrast and antithesis. Outwardly deferential to the Ulema and the law, he paid scant regard to the laws of Islam in his private life and did not let his public policy be always swayed by them, as clearly illustrated in the tolerance accorded to Kabir and the Mahdawi leader Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri. He was thus more free of religious prejudice and narrowness than Sher Shah who made Shaikh Khalil, Sayyid Rafiuddin Safawi and Nizām Dānishmand his mentors not only in his code of personal conduct but in statecraft as well. He could speak with facility in Persian and composed odes in that language. He listened to the recitation of Persian poetry and took part in philosophical debates. He had thus a range of culture and geniality of temper far exceeding that of the son of the Jagirdar of Sasaram whose stock of learning was exemplified in the retentive use of the rules of Kāfiya and in one or two haphazard verses in Persian. Sikandar won his victories, neither by recourse to diplomacy nor treachery. He won them by his extraordinary rapid marches and skilful military manouvres in the field.

Sikandar won proverbial reputation for his impartiality in the administration of justice. He took personal interest in the complicated cases brought before the highest tribunal, received daily report of the progress of a case and took steps so that the ends of justice were not defeated by delay. The system of transmitting news by relays of horses (داك چوکی) which had been in vogue during the Sultanate period was revived by him, though all credit for the introduction of the system has been ascribed to Sher Shah. Nor was Sikandar indifferent to the needs of the peasantry. He passed an ordinance under which nobody could take away forcibly the cattle of the peasantry and the implements of husbandry. Even slaves could not be dealt with arbitrarily by their masters. Sikandar thus outstripped Sher in many respects and deserves to be ranked as the greatest king produced by the Afghan race in India. The following verse composed by the chronicler Shaikh Rizqullah is a candid reflex of the contemporary Muslim opinion about his achievement.

It is a panegyric no doubt, but it throws into relief his greatness as a king.

عجب عهدی همه در کامرانی   بهر خانه نشاط و شادمانی
نه کس دادی کمند کینه در تاب   نه کسی دیدی خیال فتنه در خواب
مسلمان چیره دست و هندوان رام   ندانستی کسی از جنس مغل نام
شهی در دانش یزدان شکوهی   هم از سنگ و هم از گوهر چون کوهی

What an age of wonder ; merriment and festivity resounds in every house,
Gone are the highwaymen and twisters of noose round the neck,
Past are the night-mare days of rebellion,
Forgotten is the dread of Mongol inroad.
Divine is the Sultan's omniscience,
Grandeur of a mountain, yielding pearl and ruby.

Sultān Ibrāhim Lodi

(1517-1526)

It has been a commonplace of history to remark that sultan Ibrahim was a tyrant who rode roughshod over the feelings of the great nobles and thereby lost his life and throne. The dissolution of the Afghan empire was due not so much to Ibrahim's impolicy as to the inherent defects of the Afghan polity. The Afghan state was sustained by the army and the theologians who had the directing hand in the moulding of the policy of the state. The priests not only gave their decree as to the non-muslim's right to public assembly and take dip in holy water in particular sites. They also influenced the king's policy in his relation with the neighbours. Thus in the Afghan state "Theologians were politicians and politicians theologians". The Afghan state was weighed down by another class of people, beggars and mendicants (فقرا و غربا), vast hordes of whom lived at the expense of the state and the grandees, contributing not to any public good but to the general demoralisation and decay of the society.

This deficiency of the Afghan polity was accentuated by their clannish organisation and their fiercely individualistic temper which could hardly brook the exaltation of one of them to the rank of royalty and the towering height of '*Zilullah*' the *Shadow of God.* Spells of high military success have been usually followed by civil strife and turmoil among the Afghans. Campaigning against formidable opponents caused a coalescene of the Afghan tribes which for a time carried everything before them ; but when this opposition was overcome, the fissure in the body-politic reappeared and the various clans were pitted against one another in a scramble for power. When Sikandar blotted out the many chieftains that stood across his path in the Gangetic valley, it became inevitable that the various Afghan clans should engage themselves in a mutual conflict and try to knock each other down, when his strong hand was removed.

Secondly, the Afghans as a race have exalted the egalitarian principle of Islam. The rise of the Lodis to kingship infringed upon this principle by introducing a notion of the superiority of the Sahu-Khail[1] clan to which the Lodis belonged. When Miyan Husain Farmuli revolted against sultan Ibrahim about 1518 A. D. and joined Rana Sanga,

1 Among the Lodis Daulat Khan, governor of the Panjab belonged to the Yusuf-Khail section, while Bahlol and his successors to the Sahu Khail. Beveridge Memoirs, II, 748, 762

another Afghan Sayyid Khan Lodi joined him there. This Sayyid Khan had long been in captivity and was set at liberty by sultan Ibrahim at the instance of Miyan Husain. When however he joined the Rana, he began to give superior airs and openly said to him, "Miyan Husain is a *Shaikhzadah* and belongs to the order corresponding to that of the Brahmin in your community. I am the brother of the king. Royalty is the privilege of the Sahu-Khail and of the Yusuf Khail (Lodis). The rest are our servants." Such notions of clan pride widened the rift among the Afghans.

Thirdly, the Afghan monarchy was a loose, ill-knit feudal organisation, in which the Afghan monarch, like the Capetian king of France enjoyed only a position of pre-eminence among the Afghan nobles. Under the Afghan rule, the kingdom was divided into a number of territorial domains, small and large. Under Sikandar "half of the kingdom", says Shaikh Rizqullah, "was held by the Farmulis. They (Farmulis) and the Nuhanis were dominant." Among the Lodis, four chiefs ranked high, (i) Mahmud Khan of Kalpi (ii) Miyan 'Alam Khan of Chandwar and Etawa (iii) Mubarak Khan of Lucknow and (iv) Daulat Khan of Lahore. This Daulat Khan exercised undivided authority over the whole of the Panjab. He had a large army at his command and maintained an observatory in his palace. Among the Farmulis, Miyan Muhammad better known as Kalāpāhār was the ruler of Oudh and Bahraich (ii), Miyan Husain Farmuli of Saran and Champāran. The former was a foremost captain of war and conquered Bahraich. The latter was the conquerer of Champāran and was assigned the revenue of 20,000 villages from the conquered territory, in addition to that of his own fief. 'Azam Humāyun, ruler of Kara, was the leading chief among the Sarwanis. He commanded a body of 45,000 horse and 700 elephants. His lieutenants were Saif Khan Acha-Khail who commanded 6000 horse, (ii) Daulat Khan who had a contingent of 4000 horse (iii) 'Ali Khan Ushi who retained 6000 horse, and (iv) Firuz Khan Sarwani who had under him 4000 horse. 'Azam Humāyun was lavish in his charity. He distributed 2000 copies of the Quran annually and made an offering of 3000 cattle on the Id-uz-Zuha day. Ahmad Khan, son of Jamāl Khan Sarangkhani of Jaunpur, commanded 20,000 horse. Another Ahmad Khan, son of Khan Jahan Lodi, was deprived of his father's fief on the latter's death, but he was granted in lieu of it, an assignment in the district of Kaithal and an allowance of three lakhs of *tankās*, one lakh for buying horses,

another for cloth and a third for betels. Dilāwar Khan, son of Miyan Bhuwa, wazir of Sikandar, spent a sum of Rs. 2500 per diem on rose-water for the ladies of his harem. These territorial lords were bound to sultan Sikandar by the tie of personal allegiance and after his death they sought to partition the country among themselves. Sultan Ibrāhim's reign was a period of violent fighting to coerce and put them down. In this great task he failed, not because of his deficiency in leadership but owing to the indomitable spirit of rancour among the Afghans which drove them into alliance with distant kings e. g. Muzaffar Shah of Gujrat, and Padishah Babur of Kabul.

The dominant feature in the political life of the Gangetic valley in the 15th century was its division into two kingdoms, Delhi and Jaunpur. The latter had been wiped out and annexed to Delhi by Sikandar, yet the Afghan nobility attempted to revive the old political order by partitioning the kingdom between Ibrahim and his brother Jalal Khan. The younger prince was supported by the leading nobleman, 'Azam Humayun Sarwani. His son Fath Khan took up the direction of affairs as wazir, and two rival courts, one at Agra and the other at Kalpi, foreboded the dismemberment of the Lodi empire. Sultan Ibrāhim put down this rebellion by the resources of his diplomacy and the strength of his army. His general 'Azam Khan Lodi sacked and reduced Kalpi, the capital of Jalaluddin; while his other lieutenant, Adam Khan Kakar saved the city of Agra from the license and ferocity of Jalaluddin's army by a temporising policy. He threw off the mask with the arrival of reinforcement and dictated terms to Jalāluddin Shah under which he agreed to abdicate the throne.

The suppression of Jalal Khan's rising strengthened the position of Sultan Ibrāhim who made realignment of his forces in Delhi under Haibat Khan Gurg-Āndāz and Karimdād Tugh and in Chanderi under Shaikhzada Manjhu.[1]

The fortress of Gwalior had always been a thorn in the path of the Delhi Sultan and successfully resisted the arms of Sikandar. The protection given by the Raja to Jalaluddin strengthened Ibrāhim's resolution to stamp out this source of potential danger. He mobilized a vast army of 30000 cavalry and 300 elephants and deputed a host of Afghan nobility to the capture of this fortress. Ibrāhim's

1 Sultan Ibrahim's copper currency modelled on the Malwa type is an evidence of his firm possession of Chanderi and the neighbouring region.
Nelson Wright— Coinage and Metrology, 256, 262

designs were farthered by the accession of Raja Vikramjit, on the death of his father Raja Mān, about 1518 A. D. There was a long-drawn see-saw fighting between the defenders of the fort and the assailants, after which the fort capitulated. Raja Vikramjit was granted the fief of Shamsabad and became a vassal of sultan Sikandar.

The capture of Gwalior and the consolidation of his authority encouraged the sultan to curb the power of the Afghan military aristocracy. Chief among them was 'Azam Humāyun Sarwani who had once threatened Ibrāhim with deposition by joining hand with his brother, sultan Jalāluddin. He was all on a sudden ordered back to Agra from the siege of Gwalior and thrown into prison. Malik Bhuwa, vizier of Sikandar, was next removed from his office and gaoled. Such conduct on sultan Ibrāhim's part has been ascribed to his naturally violent disposition. That it was prompted by overriding political consideration is apparent. 'Azam Humāyun had temporised by acknowledging Ibrāhim's authority. But his military resources combined with that of his sons, Fath Khan and Islam Khan, made him a formidable rival to sultan Ibrāhim. Miyan Bhuwa was disrespectful of the young sultan, and to make matters worse, carried on secret correspondence with Daulat Khan Lodi of Lahore.[1] Their downfall was therefore decreed by Ibrāhim in no sudden feat of temper nor out of a fervent desire to exalt the crown but was dictated by reasons of his own safety.

The general conflagration that broke out later on was presumably inspired by the fear and hatred of the Afghan nobility for Ibrāhim's alleged presumptous[2] attempt at exalting the royal office. For early in his reign sultan Ibrāhim had declared that monarchy was an institution which must attract unto itself all sections of population by its benevolent impartiality.

1 *T. D. A. U. Ms.*

2 Babur hints at the root causes of Afghan disaffection in the following words in his Memoirs.

"His haughty and cruel temper, joined to the impolitic arrogance with which he had treated the Afghan nobles, who considered themselves as having raised his family to the throne and as being still placed not very far below it, had completely alienated their affections."

King. *Memoirs*, II. 180

That royalty was a notion incompatible with the code of Afghan honour is apparent also from these words.

"Royalty is divorced from all ties of relationship or clanmanship. All classes of people are subjects whose duty it is to render service. The leading Afghan chieftains who used to take their seat in the court of Sikandar were now obliged to conform to the practice of standing before the throne with folded palm."[1]

II

During the first two years of his reign sultan Ibrahim had eliminated two formidable opponents from his path, Prince Jalāluddin and 'Azam Humāyun, by expelling the former from his dominion and casting the latter into prison. Subsequently he had gaoled the old wazir Miyan Bhuwa, presumably for his secret correspondence with Daulat Khan Lodi. Such severity against the eminent Afghan chiefs, coupled with his pronouncement about royal prerogatives now inspired fresh outbreaks against his authority. The stimulus to such a rising was given by an event that occurred in the western frontier of India in 1519 A. D.

The Chaghtai prince Bābur driven out of his ancestral dominion in Central Asia, had wrested Kabul from its ruler Sayyid 'Ali Khan in 1504 A. D. who as a vassal chief under Sikandar surrendered two years later the outlying portion of his territory in the Panjab, such as Bhera, Khush-Ab, and Chiniot to Daulat Khan Lodi of Lahore. Since that time Bābur had twice probed his way along the Indian frontier, advancing as far as Tarbila in Multan in 1507 A. D. Twelve years after this event in 1519, Babur burst across Peshawar and the Indus to Bhera on the Jhelum, making a display of his strength in fire-arms against the Bajauris. He made this campaign memorable by issuing an ultimatum to sultan Ibrahim, demanding possession of the territories conquered by Timur.

Babur's sudden swoop and raid of the Panjab revived the hopes of the Afghan claimants for the throne of Delhi and promoted disaffection among the great war-captains. Chief among the nobles who now rose against sultan Ibrahim were Miyan Husain Farmuli and Miyan Ma'ruf Farmuli, notable commanders of Sikandar's reign. In 1519 A. D. they were deputed to a campaign against Rana Sanga, under the supreme command of Miyan Mākhan. The Afghan chronicles relate that they resented

1 Ferishta, lith. ed. 188

sultan Ibrahim's secret instructions for their arrest, in course of the march, for which they took the law into their own hands and set the sultan's authority at defiance. The real cause for their opposition seems, however, to have been their subordination to the authority of of Mākhan Miya, the general of sultān Ibrāhim, which they considered outrageous to their dignity, in view of their past record of exploits. One of them, Miyan Husain, in his bitterness of feeling, joined Rana Sanga encamped near TodaBhim and offered him lukewarm help in defeating the royalist arms. Thereupon the Afghan warrior marched in concert with Rana Sanga as far as the river Gambhira and elevated a member of the Lodi family to royalty under the title of sultan Ghiyāsuddin.[1] Husain, firm in warfare, was fickle in his alliance. As the Hindu soldiers in the Afghan and Rajput camps, raised the exultant cry of "*Ram*", "*Ram*", the Miyan felt hurt in his feelings as a Muslim, broke away from Sanga and joined sultān Ibrāhim. In 929 AH/1523 A. D. another Afghan free-lance, 'Ālam Khan Lodi uncle of sultan Ibrāhim, who was living the life of an exile at Gujrat reappeared in the Gangetic valley to contest his claim for the throne, at the head of a contingent, detached by sultan Muzaffar Shah of Gujrat. Meeting here with little encouragement, he went away to Kabul to seek the assistance of Padishah Bābur. Simultaneously or shortly after, Dilāwar Khan, son of Daulat Khan, governor of the Panjab, acting either on his own initiative or at the instance of his father, appeared at the court of Kabul.[2] He was permitted to place his petition before the Padishah in which he represented the alleged atrocities of sultan Ibrahim and the general longing for the end of their suffering by his march into the country. Kabul was then *en fete* on the occasion of Mirza Kamran's wedding and Babur prayed that if it was the Divine will to offer him the crown of Hindustan, then surely the delicacies of Hindustan would arrive at Kabul on the break of day and augur his success. Strangely enough, an envoy Ahmad Khan who was deputed by Daulat Khan Lodi reached Kabul that very day with betels and half-ripe mangoes, stocked in pots of honey.[3] This strange coincidence fortified Babur in his resolve for the conquest of Hindustan.

1 W. M. Ms. my edited copy.

2 C. H. I. III 250 and IV. II. state that Ghazi Khan was deputed to Kabul, but this is refuted by T. S. and T. D. and the Memoirs of Jahangir, Eng. tr. I. 87

3 T. S. B. I. 90

The arrival of high personages from among the Afghans and emissaries to Kabul became widely known and sultān Ibrāhim bestirred himself to counteract this menacing combination against his throne. Early in 1524 A. D. he deputed an army under Bihar Khan and Mubarak Khan Lodi to conquer the Panjab. Babur had already entered India at the head of an army. Daulat Khan who with his sons 'Ali Khan, Ghāzi Khan, Hāji Khan and Dilāwar Khan, had set up complete mastery over the Panjab and invited Babur to the plains, now made a subtle manouvre. When the two opposing Mughal and Afghan armies advanced upon Lahore from contrary direction, he slipped out of the city, and took shelter among the Biluchis. He had fondly expected that when the two armies would fight and knock each other down he would then issue out of his lair and gain ascendancy over both of them. Babur's swift movement and generalship, leading to the occupation of Lahore[1] and the dispersal of sultan Ibrāhim's army upset the calculations of Daulat Khan. The old Afghan warrior assumed a mask of innocence and waited upon Babur, when the latter pushed on to Dipalpur.[2] Here he induced Babur to send out his detachments on an operation against Isma'il Julwani who had assembled a force at Tihara. But Dilāwar Khan warned Babur against the risk of isolating himself from the bulk of his army. Babur became suspicious of Daulat Khan and placed him under arrest, as quickly set him at liberty to appoint to him at Sultanpur, his original dwelling place. The rest of the Panjab was assigned to the Mughal officers. 'Ālam Khan was the only Afghan who was appointed to administer Dipalpur, in concert with the Mughal officer, Baba Qashqa.

At the end of 1524 A. D. the political situation assumed a new complexion. The Panjab had practically become a part of the Mughal dominion. Both 'Ālam Khan and Daulat Khan filled minor and inconspicuous roles. Yet there was no effort on the part of the Afghans to unite. On the other hand, Dariya Khan Nuhani's son Bahadur Khan assumed independence under the title of sultan Muhammad and claimed sway over the whole country from Bihar to Sambhal. Other chiefs, such as Isma'il Julwani

1 T. F. lith. ed. 203

2 Tihara in M. L. B. 1. 47 and Erskine's *Babur*. Sitara in King, Memoirs, II 161 A small town, about 29 miles west of Ludiana.

and Bibban looked to their individual gain and turned their expectant eyes towards Babur. They forgot for the moment the simple fact that mutual squabbles would compass their common ruin and leave the Mughal triumphant ; such is often the course of events in history. The passion of hatred blinds man and he does not take note of the event that takes place before his eyes.

During his campaign of 1524, Babur had left his deputies entrenched in a number of pockets, such as Mir 'Abdul 'Aziz at Lahore, Khusrau Kokaltash at Sialkot, Baba Qashqa and 'Ālam Khan at Dipalpur and Muhammud Ali Janjang at Kalanaur[1] wherefrom they could exercise their authority in the country around. When however, he went back to Kabul, Daulat Khan could not brook the low position to which he had been reduced and struck the blow for his freedom. He gained back Dipalpur, by defeating Baba Qashqa and 'Ālam Khan who went away to Kabul. His next targets were Lahore and Sialkot.

Such was the aspect of affairs when 'Ālam Khan after obtaining mandate from Babur returned to Lahore from Kabul and asked the Mughal officers to accompany him on the march to Delhi. They declined. Thereupon 'Ālam Khan entered into a pact with Daulat Khan, at the end of December, 1525 A.D. by which they made a division of Hindustan among themselves. The Panjab was to belong to Daulat Khan and Ghazi Khan,[2] while the Gangetic valley including Delhi and Agra was to be taken possession of by 'Ālam Khan, and shared with Dilāwar and Hāji Khan. Other Afghan chiefs stimulated by prospect of immediate gain joined 'Ālam Khan and the army swelled to about forty thousand men.

1 Beveridge, Memoirs I. 440-41

2 According to Ferishta, Ghāzi Khan was a highly learned man and understood poetry well غاذی خاں از علم بهره تمام داشت و شعر خوب می فهمید [Ferishta, lith. ed. 204]

III

To deal with this new menace sultan Ibrāhim marched from Agra to Delhi. He was resting in his encampment at Hodal, when 'Ālam Khan rushed suddenly down upon him with his force in a night attack. They sacked and burnt and scattered confuson in sultan Ibrāhim's forces. The sultan himself remained inactive in his tents, tucked away at a corner, until the day dawned. He then saw a small enemy force standing in the field, the rest being busy in loot.

At once he decided on snatching victory from the jaws of defeat. He detailed the small force round him against the enemy, with a single war-elephant at the van. The result was what had been anticipated. To quote the words of Babur, "Ālam Khan's party, not being able to stand against the elephant, ran away". 'Alam Khan who had been betrayed even before the night action by some chiefs, such as Saif Khan, son of Dariya Khan Nuhani, Mahmud Khan, son of Khan Jahan Nuhani, Shaikh Jamal Farmuli was now deserted, even by his eldest son Jalal Khan, by Ismail Julwani and Bibban. He was therefore continuously in flight across the Miyan-i-Doab and Sirhind until he could throw himself inside the fortress of Ginguta, in the Jalandhar Do-Ab. Being besieged there by the roving Afghan and Hazara troops under Bābur, he again fled away to Ghāzi Khan. Received very coldly, he had no other alternative than to turn again to Babur whom he met near Phillaur in Jalandhar.

When 'Ālam Khan discredited himself by such an ignoble performance, it was expected that Daulat Khan would step forward into the centre of the political stage, but events in history shape themselves neither in accordance with any predetermined pattern nor according to the diplomatists' designs. Daulat Khan was a warrior and an adept in finesse. In the tripartite contest for the possession of the Panjab that had ensued since Bābur's march to Lahore, Daulat Khan relied more on cunning and wile to gain his end than force. But in the conflict between peoples, it is Might that prevails.[1]

Sultan Ibrāhim has been made the scapegoat for the Afghan misfortunes by the Persian annalists. Was he really responsible

1 Professor Arnold Toynbee says in a different context that the *Saviour with the Sword fails to save* (*A Study of History*, 588)

for their undoing? Did his tyrannical acts prompt Bābur to repeat his inroads into India? Or did not the lust of the Yusuf-Khails for power and rivalry among the Afghan chiefs induce him to descend on Hindustan? Did not sultan Ibrāhim make a solemn appeal to Daulat Khan to close their ranks in a fight against the common enemy before he deputed the expeditionary force to the Panjab, for the second time, Oct-Nov 1525 A. D. Thus did he write to the Yusuf-Khail chief,

"You have won the present position by my father's kindness and ruled the Panjab for twenty years. And what have you done! You have brought over the Mughals to my paternal dominion and with your own hands cast aside the Afghan veil (of honour). Now I sue for peace with you, removing all thoughts of doing harm either to you or your sons. Think carefully and give up all your absurd projects."[1]

It was a clear call for united action against the Mughal. Daulat Khan was, however, singularly void of any spark of Afghan national feeling. He rejected this proposal and immobilized sultan Ibrāhim's army by craft. He seduced some of the commanders to his side and the troops, deprived of leadership, melted away. After Daulat Khan had dispersed sultan Ibrāhim's army, he entered into a pact with 'Ālam Khan Lodi on terms vesting him with absolute authority over the Panjab. While 'Ālam Khan marched towards Delhi, he with his son Ghāzi Khan gained back Dipalpur and moved towards Lahore.

Ere long Babur had returned from Badakshan and commenced his march towards Hindustan in November 1525 A. D. On the 9th December he reached Peshawar. On the 11th December he sent a message to his Lahore officers asking them to desist from action with the Afghans until his junction with them.[2] On the 22nd December he encamped at the Balnath Jogi's ridge on the Jhelum, and sent two scouts, Sayyid Tufan and Sayyid Lachin 'with a pair of horse[3] to Lahore, and the message "Don't join battle, meet us at Sialkot or Parsur."[4]

1 T. S. B. 1. 92

2 Memoirs II. 451

3 Mrs Beveridge points out that the original word is qush-at which is rendered by her into a led horse to ride in change. Memoirs, II. 458.

4 Ibid, 458

These laconic words concealed the grave military threat to the security of Lahore from the menacing position taken by Daulat Khan's forces on the Ravi. The Afghan chief, suddenly shorn of his power and dominion, had recouped his strength with amazing rapidity. He had turned the hills north of Sultanpur into a strong military base by building a chain of fortresses, such as Milwat, Kutila, and Kahlur. His army had risen to thirty to forty thousand men. He had buckled a pair of swords in his waist, to announce his grim resolve to fight unto death. Afraid of his power, Muhammad Ali Jang Jang had fled from Kalanaur and Khusrau Kokaltash from Sialkot. The Lahore Begs trembled on their feet and were kept steady by Bābur's repeated message and swift advance.

Such was the political situation on the 25th December. A week later on the 3rd January, Daulat Khan's army broke up. He had barricaded himself with his sons in the stronghold of Milwat at the foot of the Jaswan Dun. Two days later he himself appeared before Babur with a pair of swords suspended from his neck, as a token of his submission.

How the military power built by him collapsed so abruptly at the mere knock of Bābur's lance is a question that baffles answer. There was no doubt, an enemy in Daulat Khan's own house, Dilāwar Khan, but during this period he had been absent, from the Panjab in a campaign with 'Ālam Khan Lodi against sultan Ibrāhim and continuously in flight, after the defeat until the 5th January when he joined his family at Sultanpur. Daulat Khan, 'Ali Khan, Isma'il Khan were sent away in chains to Malot, but the great warrior died of broken heart on the way. Ghāzi Khan fled to the hills and eluded all efforts at capture.

Daulat Khan's defeat and death cleared Babur's path to Delhi. About the middle of January, he received in course of his march encouraging letters from nobles like Isma'il Julwani and Biban Julwani, Ārāish Khan and Mulla Muhammad Mazhab.[1] The political convulsion in northern India and the impending fall of the Delhi monarchy encouraged a Gujrati Prince Bahadur Khan, son of sultan Muzaffar, to leave his country for Delhi with a detachment of troops. He was welcomed by sultan Ibrāhim in order to strengthen himself against his great rival. During his stay in the Afghan camp he showed

1 Beveridge, Memoirs, II. 463-4.

his pluck by rescuing a party of Afghan prisoners from the clutches of a body of Mughal horsemen.[1] But he soon aroused sultan Ibrāhim's suspicion by his activities in the camp and was obliged to flee to Jaunpur.[2] The great overlord of Rajputana, Rana Sangram Singh coldly watched this political development. He had written to Babur at Kabul, before the commencement of his march in December 1525, saying *If the honoured Padshah will come near Delhi from that side, I from this will move on Agra*",[3] but he made no movement even when Babur had passed Rupar and Sirhind on the way towards Delhi and remained a looker-on until the battle of Panipat was over.

After 'Ālam Khan Lodi's discomfiture at Hodal, Sultan Ibrahim obtained a short spell of respite for the impending encounter with his great adversary, the Chaghtai monarch of Kabul. His situation was one of exceptional difficulty. He stood amidst fires. On the north-west was the alien invader Bābur ; on the east were his Afghan kinsmen who had coalesced under the leadership of sultan Muhammad, son of Dariya Khan Nuhani of Bihar and held the whole country from Kanauj to Bihar, while towards the south-west Rana Sanga, the lord of Mewar, was rattling his sword and could draw it out at any moment. Yet the sultan faced his task with unusual calm. He deputed a number of Afghan chieftains under the leadership of Mustafa Farmuli and Firuz Khan Sarang Khani against the eastern rebels but his general Mustafa, who, in Babur's words "had thoroughly drubbed them, giving them more than good beating." had died. His place was taken by his brother Bāyazid ; but sultan Ibrāhim was not yet free from anxiety. There were also malcontents, like Isma'il Julwani and Bibban Julwani who were frequently the Mughal camp. Yet the sultan did not allow Bābur to march into the Jamuna valley without opposition. He organised two successive attacks upon him. On the 26th March, Hamid Khan, *Shiqdar* of Hisar Firuza, led his

1 Bayley, History of Gujrat—278. T. A. Eng. tr. III 821, says "he gave good account of himself in the field."

2 T. A. T. F. and M. S. Bayley says in a footnote that Bahadur Khan was drawn into a conspiracy and there is reasonable ground for such an assumption. Suspicious of his brother Sikandar, he came to the Gangetic valley to seek fortune and it is likely that he plotted to gain his ends.

3 Beveridge, Memoirs, II. 529

contingent forward, as Babur advanced from Ambala towards the Jamuna. The Afghan captain, owing to Babur's exceptional wariness and vigilance, was taken unawares. He, no doubt, held the ground at the outset but gave away, when "dark masses of Humayun's troops, showed in the rear."[1] On the 2nd April, sultan Ibrahim attempted another surprise attack by detaching Dāud Khan and Hatim Khan Lodi with a force of 5 to 6000 men across the Miyan-i-Doab but by means of efficient scouting, Babur got news of it and ably circumvented it.

IV

It has been said that sultan Ibrahim by his capricious tyranny and Pharaonic cruelty alienated the great body of noblemen and soldiers, yet despite the initial reverses, he assembled on the field of Panipat an army estimated by Babur at one lakh of men. Simultaneously a force under Bāyazid Farmuli was operating against the rebel Afghan chiefs in the east. How could such large number of men and officers be mobilized, unless sultān Ibrāhim commanded considerable measure of support among the Afghan chiefs? How, in spite of the week-long halt at Panipat, there occurred no desertion from the Afghan camp? And how could the Afghans cheerfully lay down their lives on the field, unless they were attracted by the personal magnetism of the sultan.

That sultan Ibrāhim was a great war-captain hardly admits of doubt. Bābur, no doubt, disparages him by saying "He was an unproved brave" (inexperienced in battle) ... perfected nothing, nor stand, nor move nor fight".[2] The Chaghtai conqueror in his stormy career had become acquainted with various modes of fighting. On the other hand sultan Ibrahim Lodi's method was of the traditional, stereotyped pattern, lacking in novel features. The Indian, whether Afghan or Rajput, on account of his isolation from the rest of the world, knew nothing of the changes that had been introduced into the military science by the invention of gun-powder and artillery. The elephant which the Indians had relied upon ever since the time of Porus, had become obsolete as a weapon, yet sultan Ibrahim, cooped up in his

1 Beveridge Memoirs. II. 466

2 Beveridge Memoirs. II. 469-470

narrow world, massed large numbers of them, in front of the enemy artillery, thereby causing irretrievable disaster. Our chronicles, composed mostly by literary pedagogues of those days are naturally deficient in accounts of military operations. So far as this battle is concerned, the Afghan sources are practically blank. While a more detailed account is offered in an appendix, a brief sketch of it is outlined here as the necessary epilogue to sultan Ibrāhim's career.

When sultan Ibrahim marched to Panipat with a mighty army and the astrologers made the forecast of victory in ambiguous words, there prevailed a spirit of confidence in the Afghan army. For more than a week after Babur's encampment at Panipat on the 12th April, the Afghan king was deliberately inactive. His obvious strategy was to leave the alien invader to himself, so that the inevitable hardships of campaigning and the scarcity of supplies in a foreign country might break down his spirit and force a retreat. Babur was wiser than Ibrāhim. His army of 12,000 men had no doubt been in utter dismay at the report of the huge Afghan host.

> "Some in the army," writes Bābur, "were very anxious and full of fear. Because those thus anxious and afraid were there with a two month's journey between them and their homes. Our affair was with a foreign tribe and people. None knew their tongues nor did they know ours."[1]

He had consequently taken the precaution of barricading his columns, in course of his march from Sarsawa to Panipat, by mobile waggon-carriages and mantelets. After his arrival at Panipat he became eager for a quick decision of arms in order to prevent defection and loss of morale. As a matter of fact, he tried to incite Ibrāhim to action by pin-pricks. On the 19th April, two days before the final action, he executed a bold night attack on the Afghan camp by detaching a body of five thousand horsemen, but in Bābur's own words, "they could effect nothing".

Whether encouraged by this reverse or not, Ibrāhim decided upon an immediate trial of strength. On the 20th April, the day before the engagement Ibrahim held a festive gathering to which he invited the Afghan leaders. He distributed presents including gold and silver among them and said,

1 Beveridge, Memoirs. II. 470

"Friends, to-morrow is the day when we shall engage the Mughals in a violent contest. If I gain the victory, I shall make you happy. If I fail, remain content with what I have given you. He spent the whole day in rejoicing and merriment and fixed upon the following day for battle".[1]

Sultān Ibrahim drew up his army in the usual three divisions of right, left and centre, strengthened by one thousand war-elephants at the van. His main object was to smash the enemy centre by the impact of these huge beasts who were expected like the modern tanks to roll up the enemy columns. He was evidently ignorant of the fact that Bābur had safeguarded practically the entire line by a novel method of fortification. While his right was protected by the town of Panipat, the centre was barricaded by 700 waggon-carts tied in pairs with mantelets wedged in between. Behind them lay the gun and matchlocks which poured death and destruction on that day upon the Afghan advancing columns; the left was similarly shielded by ditches camouflaged by a row of posts, with branches tied to it, giving it the deceptive appearance of a wood. As sultan Ibrāhim swiftly advanced and came within sight of the Bābur's lines, he was for a moment perplexed by the sight of the arrayed waggon-carriages, looming like a low rampart, and stood up for a while as if considering, "Shall we halt or not; shall we advance or not?"[2] He could not bring the enormous masses of men to a sudden halt. He bent his left wing forward towards the Mughal right. Babur promptly reinforced it by troops of the right-reserve under Mir 'Abdul 'Aziz. As soon as the two armies closed with each other, Babur ordered the flanking parties on his right and left to wheel round the extremities of the Afghan lines and attack them from the rear. The Afghan right was now flung upon the Mughal left commanded by Mahdi Khwāja. An Afghan riding an elephant assailed him, but he was driven back by a shower of arrows. The left was also reinforced by Babur and violent fighting ensued both on the right and left.

It was perhaps at this hour that the Afghan king decided to crush his opponent by throwing his mass of elephant upon the enemy centre. This was the turning-point of the battle. If the trained war-elephants

1 T. B. B. I. 96

2 King, Memoirs. II. 186

could sweep aside the fortification in front, the victory would have been his. They could not. Twelve years before, in 1514 A. D., sultan Salim of Constantinople had adopted this device at the battle of Chaldiran and overcome Shah Isma'il Safawi, the Iranian king whose strength lay in the enormous masses of his cavalry. Seven years after the battle of Panipat in 1533 A. D., Rumi Khan, the artillery commandant of sultan Bahādur Shah of Gujrat, made a similar bulwark of carriages, when confronted with the large army of emperor Humayun and sheltered himself inside it. Ibrahim was unaware of such a device. His elephants were riddled with shots and arrows and as the wounded beasts were tossed back, they caused a stampede in their own ranks. While such was the situation in the Afghan front, there prevailed a similar confusion in their rear. The Mughal horsemen who had wheeled forward hovered all along the Afghan rear and flank and pressed them back upon their own columns by shower of arrows. The scene that was now enacted may be better described in Babur's own words.

"Our right, left, centre and turning parties having surrounded the enemy, rained arrows down upon him and fought ungrudingly. His right and left hands were smashed in such a crowd that they could neither move forward against us nor force a way for flight.[1]

Indescribable confusion now prevailed in the Afghan army. Yet sultan Ibrahim did not give up the combat and seek safety in flight. One of his chiefs, Mahmud Khan viewed with alarm the desparate situation and urged the sultan to take to flight for a renewed trial of strength with the Mughals. But Ibrahim was no craven-hearted warrior. He was full of the spirit of chivalry and disdained such an ignominious course of action in the temper of a Yakub bin Lais.[2]

"It is a disgrace for kings", said sultan Ibrahim, "to fly from the field of battle. Don't you see that the noblemen, favourites, well wishers and friends of mine had drunk the cup of heroic death and lie strewn across the field. Where can I go now ? My horse's feet are dyed with blood up to the waist. So long as the stars were in my favour, I governed the country and did what it pleased me to do. Now

1 Beveridge, Memoirs. II, 474

2 Message of Yakub bin Lais to Caliph Muta'mid, 870-892. "If I live, the sword shall decide between us. If I conquer, I will do as I please. If thou art victorious, bread and onions are my fare and neither thou nor fortune can truimph over a man accustomed to such diet."

perfidious fortune has sided with the Mughals. What joy is there in my life ? Better that I should lie with my friends in dust and blood."[1]

With these words sultan Ibrahim delivered an assult with five thousand of his personal retainers and himself fell, having cut down a large number of Mughals. His body was discovered amidst heaps of the slain warriors by a Mughal, Tahir Tibri who brought his head before Babur.[2] The carnage among the Afghans is estimated by Babur at 40 or 50,000 men. On the casualties on his own side, he is silent.[3]

Such a terrible contest created a profound impression upon the people. Badauni says "Ages have passed away since the event of that battle .... but even now, the din of conflict and the cries of combatants issuing out of that field reach the travellers' ears at night. In 1588 Badauni himself heard similar moaning sound on his way from Lahore across Panipat to Fathepur."[4]

Ballads were composed in Hindi to commemorate the event, one of which ran as follows :

نوسی اوپر هوتا به تیا — پانی پت میں بهارت دیا
ساتو رجب آوت دارا — بابر جیتا ابراهیم هارا

In the year 932, Bhārat was made over at Panipat.
On the 7th Rajab Bābur came ; he won and Ibrāhim lost.[5]

Ibrāhim died cheerfully the death of a hero and the Afghans cherished the memory of the willing sacrifice of his life with a loving veneration, as stated in the *Tarikh-i-Shahi*. According to this chronicle, Babur informed of his having been slain, "sent Dilāwar Khan to make enquiries about the event. Dilāwar[6] visited the spot

1 T. S. B. 1. 97

2 Beveridge, Memoirs. op. cit. 476

3 Five or six thousand men were killed in one place close to Ibrahim. Our estimate of the other dead, lying all over the field, was 15 to 16,000 men but it came to be known later in Agra from the statements of Hindustanis, that 40, or 50,000 may have died in the battle, Beveridge, Memoirs. II. 474

4 M. T. B. 1. 885-886

5 T. D. A. U. Ms., Sarkar Ms.

6 Dilāwar Khan fought on the right wing of Babur at the battle of Khanua. He enlisted himself in Humayun's service. At the time of Humayun's return from Bengal, he fought against Sher Khan Afghan at Mungir and was taken prisoner. He declined service under Sher Khan for which he was punished by being immured in a wall-Rogers and Beveridge, T. J. I. 86

where lay heaps of the slain warriors. He saw Sultān Ibrāhim prostrate in the dust, and in a pool of blood, the crown tossed away from his head and the royal parasol parted away from him. Dilāwar Khan wept at this sight and reported to Bābur what he had seen. Bābur personally came to the spot. He beheld the sultan lying on the earth amidst blood, and overcome with emotion said, 'Honour to your courage.' He ordered for brocades and sweetmeat; had the corpse bathed and buried, where it had fallen.[1] Bābur's Memoirs do not corroborate this account. A mausoleum was however built later on over the mortal remains of the sultan and the event of his martyrdom was long held in the memory of the people by a yearly festive gathering at this sepulchre. Popular fancy wove legends about the sultan's death, one of which is recorded in the *Tarikh-i-Daudi.* The annalist Abdullah states on the authority of an eye-witness 120 years old, that sultan Ibrāhim wheeled away from the field in his royal robe on a black Iraqi horse. When he reached the waters of the Jamuna, he tried to procure a boat, and on his failure, plunged his horse into the stream, followed by some of his body guards. Some of them went over to the other side, but the sultan did not. All this was seen by the narrator who stood on the Jamuna beach looking on.[2]

Ibrāhim's defeat was followed by the rifling of the treasury at Agra. It would be better to quote Bābur's own words "To Humayun were given 70 lakhs from the treasury and over and above this, a treasure house was bestowed on him just as it was, without ascertaining and writing down its contents. To some begs 10 lakhs were given, 8, 7, or 6 to others.[3] Suitable money-gifts were bestowed from the treasury on the whole army, to every tribe there was, Afghan, Hazara, 'Arab, Biluch etc. to each according to its position. Every trader and student, indeed every man who had come with the army, took ample portion and share of bounteous gift and largess. To those not with the army went a mass of treasure in gift and largess, as for instance,

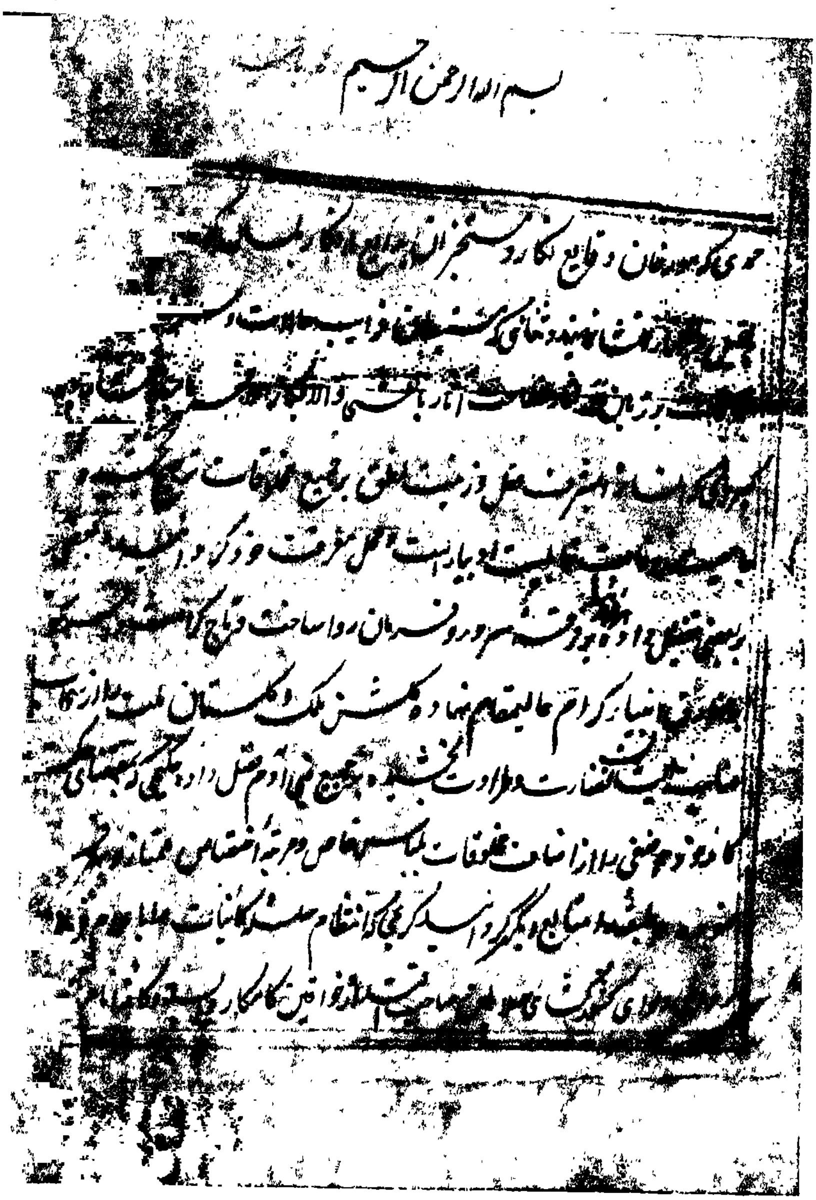
1 T. S. B. 1. 98. M. A. Eng. tr. *Infra.*

2 The present writer's views on this episode may be best expressed in Sir Henry Elliot's comments, "The old narrator may have witnessed this scene, but who will be witness for the old narrator, History of India, V. f. n. p. 80

3 Erskine estimated these sums as "probably £56, 700 to Humayun; and the smaller ones as £8,100, £6, 480, £6, 670 and £4,860 respectively; very large sums for the age" (History of India, i. 400 n. and App. E). [Memoirs, II. 522]

17 lakhs to Kamran, 15 lakhs to Muhammad-i-Zaman Mirza, while to 'Askari, Hindal and indeed to the whole various train of relations and younger children went masses of red and whirc (gold and silver) of plenishing, jewels and slaves. Many gifts went to the bags and soldiery on that side (Tramontana). Valuable gifts (Saughāt) were sent for the various relation in Samarkand, Khurasan, Kashghar and Irāq. To holy men belonging to Samarkand and Khurasan went offerings vowed to God (nuzur) ; so too to Makka and Madina. We gave one *shahrukhi* for every soul in the country of Kabul and the valley-side of Varsak, man and woman, bond free, of age or non-age."

Like Pizarro, Bābur was not consumed by a greed of gold, but Agra offered him more than he dreamt of. He therefore took the decision of staying permanently in India and laid the foundation of a new ruling House. The close of the sway of the Lodi Afghans is thus an important land mark in Indian history.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

Makhzan-i-Afghani A. S. B. Ms. No. 100

CHAPTER I

AFGHAN ORIGINS

I

Praised be the Lord for the chroniclers, recorders and historians who recount night and day wonderful occurrences in eloquent tongue showering pearls ; Eulogy to Him for the explorers of strange happenings who investigate notable events day and night to relate them in trenchant tongue scattering pearls. It is He who has endowed man with superiority over all (other) creatures, with the gift of intellect and the adornment of speech. Is it not He who has clothed man in the robe of every excellence and has granted him the knowledge necessary for attaining His presence. He has honoured some mortals above others and made them leaders and rulers. He has put the crown of honour and the diadem of prophecy upon the brow of the glorious and the exalted. Through the shower of generosity emanating from the Prophets, He has given greenness and freshness to the grove of the world and to the garden of faith and accorded the mighty authority over all mankind.

The Omniscient one, through His consummate wisdom, has honoured different tribes with their distinctive costume and characteristic status. He has caused one class of men to obey another. The All-bountiful One has bound the royal standards and victorious flags of the powerful monarchs and successful kings along with the administration imposed on them. He has commanded all men to submit to their authority in accordance with the saying "Obey God and obey the Prophets and those exercising authority over you."[1] He has made their sword the ruling sceptre over the people, so that they might live in happiness and contentment beneath the shadow of security and justice, adorning the world and apply themselves to the winning of their bread, and to prayer and to the cultivation of knowledge of the All-gracious God and thus be protected from the violent hand of tyranny following the commandments of Islam. "May His glory be exalted and may His beneficence be extended to all men".

Glory be to the Leader of created beings (Muhammad) upon whom be the mercy of God and His blessings. May thousands and thousands

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1 Yusuf Ali, Holy Quran, Surah IV, verse 59.

of blessings and immeasurable happiness be showered upon the Most Excellent Being in both the worlds, the Intercessor in both the regions, the Chief of the Apostles, and the Seal of the Prophets, Muhammad (Peace be upon Him and His family).

The mandate of his prophecy was inscribed with the sublime words, "thou wert not been, the heavens would not have created," and the monogram of his Prophethood was ornamented with the title of the Last of the Prophets.

Blessings be upon his family, descendants and the great companions belonging to the two groups, *Muhājiran*[1] and *Ansār*[2] about whom the Prophet issued this command to his companions, "My companions are like stars : and to follow them would be good guidance for you. The verse which has been revealed about them is" "Wage a crusade in the path of God, as it should be done."

Blessings be upon the followers of the companions and upon those who would come after them, upon the scholars, the saints, the devotees, the martyrs and the pious men of Islam who hold equal rank with the Prophets of the Jews. May God be pleased with them until the Day of Judgment.

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1 Muhajiran — the emigrants, a name applied in the Quran to those followers of Muhammad who had migrated from Mecca to Madina with him. *Abridged En. Islam*, 389-90.

2 Ansar — 'the helpers', title of the believers of Madina who received and assisted the Prophet after his flight from Mecca.

List of Chapters

Chapter I—On the description of the affairs of king Tālut,[1] Ark of the Covenant[2] the attainment of his kingship and authority among the Jews, the assasination of Jālut[3] by the Prophet David, a sketch of the Prophet Solomon (Peace be upon him), the martyrdom of king Tālut and the enumeration of his children, the conquest of Jerusalem by Bakhtnasr,[4] the expulsion of the Jews by him, their arrival in the mountains of Ghor and their migration to the Sulaiman ranges and to the country of Roh.

Chapter II—History of His Highness Khālid, son of Walid, his conversion to Islam and his activity as a commander in Basra, Kufa, Syria, Roum, Iraq, Arabia, and Persia until the end of the caliphate of the prince of the faithful, Omar Faruq, (May God be pleased with him) and different versions of his genealogy.

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1 Tālut — Arabic name for Saul, belonging to the tribe of Benjamin, the smallest tribe in Israel. He was annointed king by Samuel, the last of the Judges. Yusuf Ali, *Holy Quran*, chap. II. Surah 247. *Abridged En. Islam.*

2 *On the Ark of the covenant*', H. W. Bellew adds a short account which is reproduced here *in extenso*.

The Ark تابوت سکینه was the oracle of the Bani Israil. It is generally believed to have been a box of Shamsād wood on which were figured the forms of all the Prophets of God. In length it was three cubits, and its breadth was two cubits. It was sent to Adam from Paradise . . . . According to Ibn 'Abbas, it was a basin of pure gold in which the hearts of the prophets of God were washed and purified. According to the learned Mujāhid, it was an image in the form of a cat. It had a head and tail and each eye was like a torch. Its forehead was formed of emeralds, the brilliance of which was so great that no one had the power to look on them. In the time of battle it moved forward like the wind and overpowered the enemies of Israil. Habb bin Mania says it was the oracle or command of God . . . . and it spoke words . . . . According to the statement of 'Ibn-i-Attā, extracted from the description in the Quran, it was composed of the two tables of the Mosaic law, the staff of Moses and the turban, shoes and staff of Aaron (Hārun), all of which were contained in a long box or coffin. It is also related that on one occasion in a fight against the Philistines, the Israelites were beaten and their Ark was carried off by the victors .

Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan, 49-50. Yusuf Ali, Holy Quran, f. n. p 291.

3 Jālut same as Goliath, the Philistine commander who fought Saul and David and was killed by the latter. Holy Quran. *op. cit.* chap. II. Sec. 88. Verse 249.

4 Bakhtnasr — His true name being Gudarz or Raham, the governor of Babylon under Loharasp, king of Persia who took Jerusalem and destroyed the temple. George Sale, *the Koran* f.n. 272.

Chapter III—Narration of the history of sultan Bahlol Lodi who raised the standard of sovereignty in the large country of Hindustan and who was not preceded by any member of this tribe in occupying and holding the royal throne, until the end of the reign of sultan Ibrahim, son of sultan Sikandar, son of sultan Bahlol and of his glorious death in battle.

Chapter IV—Account of the reign of Sher Shah Sur until the end of 'Ādili's reign who established himself on the royal throne, a number of years after the extinction of the Lodi rule, the arrival of His Majesty Jinnat Āshiyāni Humāyun Pādishāh for the second time in India and the end of the sovereignty of the Sur tribe and its transfer into the august line of the Chaghtai kings. This chapter is divided into four sections.

Chapter V—Account of events and facts relating to the high grandee Nawab Khān Jahān Lodi[1] and a brief sketch of his administration.

Chapter VI—Account of the Afghān tribes.

This chapter is divided into three sections. (i) account of the Sarabani clan and enumeration of the members.

(2) Account of the Batani clan and

(3) Account of the Ghurghushti clan.

Chapter VII—Description of the reign of the king of the age and the lord of the time, His Majesty Abul Muzaffar Nuruddin Muhammad Jahāngir Pādishāh Ghāzi (May His rule be ever-lasting).

Concluding Chapter—The saints of the Afghan tribe, strange miracles performed by the men and women of this tribe who had direct knowledge of God, and attained perfection, invocation of blessings for the king of the age and recording the completion of the chronicle by means of a chronogram, and a brief sketch of the humble author. (May God forgive his sin and screen his failings ; May God protect and aid him).

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1 For career of Khan Jahan Lodi, Vide Maasir-ul-Umara, *Islamic Culture*, 1949, 178-198

The author of the *Tārikh-i-Guzidah* and the writer of the *Majma-ul-Ansāb* record that when the lustre of Prophet Muhammad radiant like the sun illuminating the world, brightened and irradiated the dark world and Khalid[1] won the honour of embracing Islam, a number of Arab tribes and various other people came to Madina. Khalid wrote a letter to the Afghāns and his own clansmen who had been settled in the mountain around Ghor ever since the expulsion of the Israelites by Bakhtnasr (Nebuchadrezzar) and informed them of the coming of the Last of the Prophets, Muhammad and the rise of the evangel of Islam. When Khalid's letter reached them, some of the chiefs of their tribe started for Madina. The greatest among these Afghāns was Qais whose pedigree ascended in a series of thirty-seven degrees to Tālut, (Saul) forty-five to Prophet Ibrāhim, a friend of God.

The author of the *Majma'-ul-Ansab* thus traces the pedigree of Qais.[2] Qais, son of 'Isa, son of Salul, son of 'Utba, son of N'aim, son of Murra, son of Halida, son of Iskandar, son of Rammān, son of Ainin, son of Mahlul, son of Shalam, son of Salih, son of Qarud, son of 'Asam, son of Fahalul, son of Karam, son of 'Ummāl, son of Hujaifa, son of Minhal, son of Qus, son of 'Alim, son of Ishmail, son of Hārun, son of Qamrud, son of Abi, son of Suhaib, son of Tulal, son of Luwi, son of 'Āmil, son of Tarij, son of Ārzid, son of Mansdul, son of Salm, son of Afghana, son of Urmia, son of Sārul entitled Malik Tālut, son of Qais, son of 'Utba, son of 'Ayis, son of Ruyil, son of Yubid, son

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1 Khalid—bettor known as the "*Sword of Allah*", embraced Islam at the beginning of 8 AH/629 A.D. He first distinguished himself as the leader of the Meccan forces against Muhammad and died in 642 AD. *En. Islam*, II, 878-79.

2 During Muhammad's final expedition to Mecca in 630 A. D. he divided his troops into four division and directed them towards Mecca under such commanders as Az Zubeir, Khalid, Sa'd ibn Ubada. It is stated that Muhammad exasperated with Sa'd's fiery temper transferred the banner to the charge of his son, Qais. Sa'd ibn Ubada was an Arab, belonging to the Khazraj tribe. *Abridged En. Islam*, 488. For the tribe of Khazraj, *vide* Muir's — *Life of Muhammed*, 115.

b) Another Qais was a chief of the Beni Jofi tribe of Yemen. He with his brother waited upon Muhammad and on evincing test of his faith in the Prophet won from him a patent of authority over his people. vide, *Life of Muhammad*, 466-467.

There was a tribe named Beni Ab'd ul Qais, ibid, *Life of Muhammad* f. n. 467.

(c) No mention of Qais *alias* Abdur Rashid as a commander in the expedition to Mecca occurs in Ibn Hisham or At Tabari. Did Niamatullah appropriate the name Qais son of Sad bin Ubada to claim an ancient pedigree for the Afghans ?

of the Prophet Y'ākub *alias* Israēl, son of the Prophet Isahāq, son of Prophet Ibrāhim, friend of God, son of Tārikh *alias* Āzer, son of Tākhur, son of Sārugh, son of the Prophet Hud (peace be upon him), son of Ghabr, son of Sālih, son of Arfakhshad, son of Sām, son of the Prophet Noah, son of Lak, son of Matuslah, son of the Prophet Idris, son of Muhallayel, son of Anush, son of the Prophet Shish, son of the Prophet Ādam. In this way the pedigree went up by sixty-three degrees to Ādam.

On arrival at Madina, they had the honour of meeting the Prophet under the guidance of Khālid and the distinction of embracing Islam. His Holiness treated them with the utmost generosity and kindness. He ascertained the name of each individual and said that Qais was a word derived from the Hebrew language, while he himself was an 'Arab. He gave Qais the name of 'Abdur Rashid out of kindness and said, "As you are descended from Malik Tālut and Almighty God has mentioned you with the title of malik in the holy Quran, it is proper and desirable that you should also be called malik." When the Prophet (peace be upon him), started for the holy city of Mecca in order to conquer it, Khālid and 'Abdur Rashid had the honour of escorting him. On the day of the capture of Mecca, he deputed a body of Israelites and 'Abdur Rashid to assist Khalid. They distinguished themselves on that day, sacrificing their lives without any scruple. Seventy Quraishites[1] were slain by Khalid and the body of Israelites under him. When Khalid appeared before the Prophet, he spoke of the bravery and manliness of 'Abdur Rashid, and the Prophet said with his pearl-scattering tongue that Almighty God would create a large tribe out of his progeny, and that they would surpass all other people in number, and in the establishing, and strengthening of the faith and that their fabric which as revealed to him by Gabriel was like that wood of a ship by which the keel was made — a wood which in the nautical jargon was called *Pahtan*. The Prophet, on this account conferred upon 'Abdur Rashid the title of Pathān and prayed that a large tribe might spring out of his progeny and that they might remain firm and strongly established in the faith of Islam until

1 According to Niamatullah, seventy Quraishites fell on the occasion of Muhammad's entry into Mecca. Sir William Muir puts the figure at only twenty eight persons, *Life of Muhammad*, op. cit. 407.

the doomsday, that eminent saints and distinguished ascetics, sages, and mystics might arise out of this tribe, so that they would be the pillars of the mansion of Islam." He then lifted up his head and offered prayers on behalf of 'Abdur Rashid who had earned the title of Pahtan and asked his companions to say, "Amen." As he concluded his prayer, his face manifested signs of the divine inspiration and he leaned upon the knee of 'Ali. the commander of the faithful. When shortly after the descent of the heavenly message, he rose up, with his face lit up with joy and happiness, he said in a cheerful and happy mood, "Mihtar Gabriel[1] brought to me the message that Almighty God after the usual complimentary expresson had said that he had accepted the prayer on behalf of 'Abdur Rashid and elevated this people above all other tribes. He (Muhammad) then summoned 'Abdur Rashid and recited blessings for his welfare and the *Fatiha* prayer. He appointed one of his followers from among the '*Ansārs* to accompany 'Abdur Rashid Pahtān to the country of Ghor and the adjoining hilly district inhabited by the Jews, the Afghān[2] and the followers of 'Abdur Rashid so that he might initiate them into faith of Islam. He then bade them leave. Accordingly Qais who had won the name of 'Abdur Rashid and the title of *Pahtan* returned happily to his own country. The particulars about his descendants would be recorded with the fortunate pen in the sixth chapter. Qais died in 40 A. H./660 A. D. during the reign of Muawiya bin Abu Sufiyān. He lived eighty-seven years. Although the facts are not corroborated by tradition and legends, they are found in such histories as the *Tārikh-i-Guzidah* and *Majma-ul-Ansāb* and in traveller's tale.

It is recorded in some biography that in 9 A. H./630 A. D. when a number of Arab tribes came to wait upon the Prophet after the battle of Tabuk,[3] Qais was introduced to the Prophet, at the instance of Khalid, as stated above. Many stories such as the sending of the

1 Gabriel, the messenger of God, figures in the Quran as a celestial angel bearing messages to Muhammad. *Abridged En. Islam*, 79.

2 Niamatullah differentiates between the Afghans and the Pathans. The two terms are however, regarded as synonymous and interchangeable. Longworth Dames regards this distinction as unreal. *En. Islam*, I. 149. For detailed discussion, vide note (b) in the following chapter.

3 Tabuk — a town on the railway from Damascus to Madina. According to Yakut, 12 miles distant from the latter place. It became a historic place owing to Muhammad's campaign in Sep.-Oct. 980 A. D. *En. Islam*, VI, 598-94.

mantle to His Holiness Waisqaran[1] and the delivery of the Prophet's comb to Abu Riza Ratan[2] to take it Shaikh 'Ali Lala Ghaznawi[3] are narrated in the above treatises. The stories about Qais are also of the same nature. God knows the truth.

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1 Waisqaran — It is said that Prophet Muhammad commanded at the time of his death to deliver his mantle to Waisqaran, a camel-driver who was an inhabitant of Yemen. Fariduddin 'Attar's — *Tazkirat-ul-Awliya* Ed. by Nicholson, I, 14-15.

2 Baba Ratan is the legendary saint of Bhatinda. The earliest version about this saint was recorded by Cunningham in 1889 A. D. According to this account Ratan's name was originally Chankar which was changed into Ratan, when he was converted to Islam at the time of Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghori's conquest of Bhatinda in 587/1191 A. D. According to Horovitz who gives a long account in *J. P. H. S. II*, 97-117, he was the minister of the Bhatinda Raj; yet he seconded the Muslim arms in the conquest of the place and eventually put the Raja to the sword. He is said to have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and became known as Baba Ratan. For details, vide *J. P. H. S. II*, 97-117.

3 Ali Lala Ghaznawi — According to Horovitz, 'Ali Lala visited Baba Ratan in 620 A.H. and received from him a comb that once belonged to the Prophet. *J. P. H. S. II*, 109. He cites Jami's *Nakafat-ul-uns* and other authorities in support of this statement.

EARLY AFGHAN HISTORY

II

The word Pahtān is derived from Batān which by frequent use has become Pathān.[1] As regards the migration of this tribe to the mountains of Roh and Sulaimān ranges, the author of the *Tārikh-i-Guzidah* and the *Jahān Kushāi* records that after their expulsion from the land of Syria by Bakhtnasr, they settled down in the hills of Ghor and its neighbourhood. In the 9th year of the Hijra/630 A. D. they were admitted into the honour of Islam at the instance of Khālid, and when the Prophet offered prayers on their behalf which were accepted by the Almighty, members of this tribe began to increase and multiply in such number that it was beyond computation. 'Abdur Rashid had three sons who were perspicacious and intelligent. He gave one the name of *Saraban*, the other *Batan*, and the third *Ghurghusht*. From each of them was born a numerous progeny which would be mentioned later.[2]

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1 H. W. Bellew who during his residence at Qandahar, 1857 studied a number of works bearing upon this question, says that the word "*Pahtan*" has been corrupted into *Pathan* and adopted as a national designation. The works consulted by him belonged to the library of Sardar Ghulam Haidar Khan Ghazi and were compiled at varying dates ranging from the early 17th to the late 18th century. According to him the word signifies, "*delivered*"; '*set free*'.

According to one of the several legends current among the Afghans about the origin of the term '*Afghan*', the mother of 'Afghan' the great ancestor of this people gave him this name as soon as she became rid of the birth-pang and delivered the child. She exclaimed instantaneously saying that she was free and called the child 'Afghana.' — *Journal of a political Mission to Afghanistan in 1857*, 56-57.

2 According to Bellew, from the three sons of Qais, the existing tribes of Afghanistan trace their descent in 277 tribes or *khail*, out of 405 *khail* which compose the Afghan nation. Of them 105 *Khail* have sprung from Saraban, 77 from Batan and the remaining 223 from Ghurghusht.

Bellew incorporates an interesting tale about the origin of the Ghilzai, Lodi and Sur tribes which is as follows. During the Arab invasion of Ghor, a young prince of Khurasan named Shah Husain came to Ghor and sought asylum under Batan, the second son of Qais. The prince fell in love with Bibi Mattoe, daughter of Batan and eventually married her, though such a marriage was contrary to the Afghan custom. The son born out of this union was given the name of *Ghalzoe*, meaning the *son of theft*, owing to the peculiar circumstances attending the marriage. The Ghalzoe or Ghilzai forms at present a most powerful Afghan tribe. Subsequently Bibi Mattoe gave birth to another son, Ibrahim, surnamed Loe, (Lodi) on account of his valour and wisdom. The elder branch of Ibrahim's family supplied the Lodi kings, while the younger branch supplied the Sur kings of Delhi.

When the seat of the caliphate was adorned by 'Abdul Malik bin Marwān, in 86 A. H./705 A. D. Hajjāj bin Yusuf Saqafi appointed his nephew 'Imaduddin Muhammad Qāsim, who was his commander-in-chief and wazir, to conquer the countries of Siwistan,[1] Garmsir and the neighbouring parts, and when after a long march, he reached the neighbourhood of Ghor, he gathered round him a large body of these people and extended to them various favours.[2] He stayed eight years in this country, conquered Siwistan and slew its Raja when a large booty fell into Muslim hands. When in 94 A. H./712 A. D. 'Imaduddin Muhammad Qāsim started for the seat of the caliphate (Bāghdād), in accordance with the command of Hajjāj bin Yusuf, he sent away the Afghāns to their own country, with presents of costly *khilat*, waist-dagger and jewelled sword. When in the year 400 AH/1009 A. D. Almighty God exalted sultān Mahmud Ghāzi, son of Sabuk-Tigin, son of Alp-Tigin, son of the slave of Noah bin Mansur Samāni to the throne, and when the kingdoms of Irāq, Syria Khurāsan, Trans-'oxiana and the country as far as the border of Kabul and the river Indus[3] were brought under his authority, nine Afghān chiefs whose names are recorded in the chronicles as follows, Malik Khānui, Malik 'Āmun, Malik Dāud, Malik Yahiya, Malik Ahmad, Malik Mahmud, Malik Muhammad, Malik 'Ārif and Malik Ghāzi came to render allegiance to sultan Mahmud and were admitted to his presence. As the signs of nobility and the splendour of greatness

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Shah Husain married another woman, Bibi Māhi from whom he had another son named *Sarwāni*. His descendants are known by this name at the present day. Needless to say the stories were concocted to suit the later political role of the Lodi, Sur and Sarwani clans.

1 Identified by Raverty with Sehwan, *T. N.* Eng. tr. f. n. 294

2 Niamatullah's statement about Muhammad bin Qasim's march into Ghor and his recruitment of Afghans is original but unreliable, as it lacks the support of any authority.

3 Niamatullah's statement about the general Afghan support for sultan Mahmud lacks support. According to the contemporary chronicler Utbi, the Afghans fell upon the sultan's columns on their way back across the mountainous country from the Kanauj campaign in 1019 A. D. The sultan retaliated by leading an expedition to that area of Afghanistan and doing a general execution among the Afghans. Dr. Nazim, *Sultan Mahmud*, 76.

Raverty says in a note, (*Eng tr.* 74) that during Sabuk-tigin's reign the country west of the Indus between Safid-Koh on the west and the salt-Range on the east and Hindukush, extending as far west as Kabul was still under Hindu rule. The Afghans had not extended northward of the river Kurmah at this time." Vide also *Alberuni's India*, 208

were visible on their faces, he treated them with various marks of kindness, by conferring upon them costly robes befitting their nobility, cash money and chattels, jewelled waist-daggers, swords, horses and a special robe of honour. Escorted by them he started on the march towards Somnath in Hindustan. When he reached the kingdom of Rai Wāshlim who was the principal king of this region, he overthrew this Raja, pulled down the idol-temples of this kingdom and laid waste this land of misbelievers. Whenever the sultan had to undertake any difficult task and enterprise, he entrusted it to the Afghan chiefs, and their contingents and following. By the grace of Almighty God, this work was accomplished in an excellent way. Sultan Mahmud stayed three years[1] at Somnath and having noted their zealous work, conferred upon them favours consistent with their respective status and promoted them to high station. Matters reached such a stage that within a short time they took rank among the grandees and affairs of state were discharged by their advice. They occupied honourable and influential positions in the administration and were men of great authority and powers during the thirty-nine years of sultan Mahmud's reign. When the sultan left this narrow transitory world for the ever-lasting abode on Thursday, 2nd Rabi II 421A/9th June, 1030 A. D. his sons, sultan Muhammad and sultan Mas'ud Ghazi also followed the same policy towards them. When the light of the sultanate founded by Sabuk-Tigin went out after one hundred and sixty-nine years, the throne came to be adorned by the sultans of Ghor.

Sultan Shihābuddin Ghori, after his elevation to the throne of Ghazna, intended to conquer Hindustan. He marched several times from Ghazna to Hindustan. On the first occasion he went back from Lahore. On the second occasion he returned unsuccessful from Anhilawara. On the third occasion he led twelve thousand Afghān horsemen, skilled in the use of the sword, deft in horsemenship and experienced in warfare, and Merciful God granted him victory. Raja Pithaura, king of Hindustan, was slain. Immense wealth, horses of Indian and Arabic breed, elephants as large as mountains, slaves with tulip like cheeks and fairy-like concubines and

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1. According to the Persian sources the sultan's stay at Somnath was very short, lasting "not more than a fortnight", *Sultan Mahmud*, 118.

an unlimited quantity of cash and goods fell into the hands of the Muslims. In course of his return march sultan Shihābuddin[1] settled them in the hills of Roh, Sulaiman and Ushtughar ranges and the environs of Bajaur including the country from the borders of Kabul to the river Indus, and from the neighbourhood of Qandahar to the frontier of Multan and he appointed Malik Mu'izuddin Ghori at the head of twenty-thousand men to transplant the Afghans from the mountains of Ghor to these hills (of Roh) and settle them there.

Roh stands especially for that chain of hills which extends from the neighbourhood of Bajaur in the north to the townlet of Siwi, situated within Bakkar in the south, and from Hasan Abdal in the east to Kabul in the west. Qandahar lies on the border of these mountains which comprise within it the Sulaiman and the Ushtughar ranges. Ushtughar was the first town which was inhabited by them after their migration. When Malik Mu'izuddin went back to sultan Shihābuddin, the sultan was highly pleased, because he considered the settlement of this tribe as having led to the conquest of Hindustan. In fact, such was really the case. Afterwards the sultan treated them with every consideration and assigned to each clan fiefs near the bank of the Nilāb,[2]. As the people became firmly settled in this region, they daily increased in power, annually waged war with the kafirs of Kator[3] and Hindustan and cleansed this tract of the stain of the unbelief. When sultan Shihābuddin led his forces to Delhi for the third time, he appointed Malik Mahmud Lodi who had a body of clansmen more numerous than that of any other clan, his commander-in-chief. He favoured him in various ways, placed him in charge of the van with twelve thousand horsemen who always marched two stages ahead of the sultan and assigned to him the command of the

1 *This is an obvious error. Malik Shihabuddin alias Sultan Muizuddin's elder brother was Sultan Ghiyasuddin. Minhaj-i-Siraj clearly states the Muizuddin was at first styled Malik Shihabuddin. and subsequently after his successes in Khurasan, the title was changed to sultan Muizuddin, T. N. Eng, tr. 370, 446, f. n. 5.*

2 Nilab—Situate 15 miles below Attock on the Indus. According to Major Raverty, it was once a great city, the capital of the Gakkhar tribe. Vide King, *Memoirs of Babur*, II. 92.

3 Katcr was presumably that part of Kafiristan called Kashtur or Kashtuz. According to Raverty, Kator was the synonym for the Safed-posh (white-clad) kafirs, (Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*. 186 N) but according to others the principal tribe of the Siyaposh (Black-clad) Kafir is called Katir, (Kator). Raverty, Eng. tr. II. 620.

Afghan troops. When Shihābuddin marched to Lahore, he besieged Khusrau Malik, the last of the Ghaznawides in the Lahore fort. After receiving solemn promises and assurances, he came out of the fort and waited upon him. He was then put in chains and sent to his own brother in Ghor. Shihabuddin[1] conquered a large part of the country around Lahore and fought hard with the non-muslims. The Almighty out of graciousness and favour gave the Muslims victory over the non-muslims. On his way back from the country of Hind, he founded the fort of Sialkot and having summoned 'Ali Karmākh[2] from Lahore, put him in charge of it. He appointed Malik Shāhu, a brother of Malik Mahmud to populate this town and himself returned to Ghazna. He honoured Malik Mahmud with various marks of favour and assigned to him the power of acquiring and bestowing, of seizing and liberating. The ascendancy of the Lodis dates from that time.[3]

When sultan Shihabuddin died, sultan Qutb who was one of the forty slaves, ascended the throne of Delhi. He treated the Afghans with greater consideration and kindness than was previously extended to them by sultan Shihābuddin. He raised some of them to the position of nobles. Nearly six hundred years have elapsed since that time during which this noble tribe freely entered Hindustan and went away and was esteemed highly by the sultans of Delhi. When sultan Firuz Shah became king, he cherished them and raised one of them to the position of amir-ul-umarā. Such was the state of affairs for 295 years. When in 801 A. H/1398 A. D. Sāhib-i-Qirān

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1 Malik Shihabuddin is the same as Malik Muizuddin, Raverty, *T. N.* Eng. tr. 870, 446.

2 This is confirmed by Minhaj who states that Ali Karmakh was Sipahsalar at Lahore. He was also governor of Multan.

3 The following authentic facts about the Afghans (until the 13th c.) are known from chronicles. According to Al Utbi Sabuk-Tigin enrolled Khaljis and the Afghans in his army, and his son and successor sultan Mahmud led in his invasion of Tukhāristan an army consisting, among other elements, of the Afghans. After his return from the Qanauj expedition, sultan Mahmud punished the Afghans by attacking them in their mountain fastnesses in 1019 A. D. In 1268 Ghiyas-ud-Din Balban employed 3000 Afghan horse and foot in a campaign against the Mewatis, *T. N.* B. I. 815. The Afghans are described as huge as elephants, each of them having two Khitai bulls over the shoulder.

افغانان که هریک ازایشان گوئی زنده پیلی است بادو غزغاو برکتف نهاده

Raverty says that the 'bulls' refer to the Afghans' hairy faces and the long curly hair hanging down their back, as some tribes wear to this day. Eng. tr. f. n. 852

Amir Timur having resolved in his world-adorning wisdom, on subduing Hindustan, proceeded towards this quarter, he summoned Malik Khizr Lodi, Malik Bahāuddin Julwāni and Malik Yusuf Sarwāni and Malik Habib Niyāzi with twelve thousand men from the Sulaiman ranges and the country around it and showed them favour.[1] He gave each one of them a horse, a special *khilat*, jewelled waist-dagger and a sword inlaid with jewels and taking them in his company, marched towards Delhi by the route of Kol-Jalali.[2] When he reached Multan, his son Mirza Pir Muhammad who had fortified himself, out of the dread of the zamindars and had not the strength to return to his country, was delivered from this danger; upon which Pir Muhammad quickly joined him and was received with much favour and attention. As the horses of the prince had perished in the rains of Hindustan, most of the footmen and others came riding upon bullocks. Sāhib-i-Qirān, the Great, with his heart as broad as the sea, placed in a single day and in one assembly, thirty thousand Iraqi and Turki horses, at the disposal of the fortunate and the victorious Mirza and his troops thereupon proceeded to Lahore *via* Dipalpur. He had the *khutba* recited and the coinage struck in his name, and marched towards Delhi. Mallu Khan, ruler of Delhi, fled, and Delhi fell to His Majesty's officers. On Friday, 17th Rabi I of the above-mentioned year 801/27th Nov., 1398 A. D. the *khutba* was read and the coinage minted in the name of this mighty king in the capital of Hindustan. He halted for a week near the *Hauz*, and when his mind became free of anxiety about Delhi, he proceeded towards the Siwalik ranges to gain the merit of a holy war against the non-muslims. He made strenuous exertions to win the merit of *Jihad* and to propagate the faith of Islam. Malik Khizr and Malik Bahāuddin died a martyr's death in a battle in the Siwalik. Sāhib-i-Qirān summoned their relations and friends and conferred special *khilats* upon them and cherished them with other favours. He granted them the pargana of Khizrabad-Sadhaura included within the middle Doab and the pargana of Sialkot with certain other districts of the Panjab. Having entrusted the administration of Delhi and Hindustan into the hands of

1 Amir Timur's relation with the Afghans as stated here is again unsupported by any authority. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* says that he punished the Afghans, Elliot, III.

2 This version is at variance with *M. T.* The Amir did not attack Delhi from the side of Aligarh (Kol Jalali), *Vide*, *C. H. I.* III. 197.

Sayyid Khizr Khan, a distinguished officer of sultan Firuz Shah, he made forced marches by way of Kabul towards his capital, Samarqand and sent back Malik Habib, Malik Yusuf and other Afghān leaders from Kabul. During the administration of His Highness Khizr Khan, many of them rose to the rank of nobles and high position, and continued to exchange visits between Roh and Hindustan.

Sultan Sha Lodi[1] was one of the leading nobles of Sayyid Khizr Khan and sultan Mubārak Shah and obtained Sirhind as jagir. Henceforth the prosperity of the Afghans went on increasing from day to day, which will be mentioned later. The object of writing these pages was to record the emigration and settlement of these tribesmen. Though it began during the time of sultan Mahmud Ghāzi, and continued for six hundred years until the present time, the Afghans still inhabit these ranges.

As it is my intention to give an account of those members of the tribe who became firmly established on the throne, I shall now proceed to state briefly the affairs of sultan Bahlol Lodi who shed lustre on the kingship of this vast country of Hindustan and since the time of Khālid no other member of this tribe excepting Bahlol Lodi wore the crown.

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1 Sultan Sha Lodi is the same as Islam Khan. Appointed *faujdar* of Sirhind by Sayyid Khizr Khan in 1410 A. D., he fought an impostor who declared himself Sarang Khan, *T. M. S.* 139-90, *T. A.* Bi 269-70, Ferishta writes سلطان شه اودی المخاطب باسلام خاں , *T. F.* lith. ed. 168.

A. NOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE AFGHANS

The origin of the Afghan race is an intricate question on which divergent opinions have been held by Muslim chroniclers and modern writers.

A. *Coptic origin*—The erudite chronicler and statistician Abul Fazl wrote. The Afghans consider themselves the descendants of the Israelites and declare their progenitor to be Afghan. افغان خود را از بنی اسرایل شمرد و افغان نام بزرگ نیاںداند

Again,

"Some assert the Afghans to be Copts and state that when the Israelites came to Egypt from Jerusalem, this people wandered into Hindustan.[1] برخے افغان را قبطی پندارند - دران زمان که بنی اسرایل از بیت‌المقدس باز کردیده بمصر آمد طایفه را گزاره بهندوستان افتاد

Muhammad Qasim Ferishta supported the latter view. Quoting Matla-'ul-Anwar he says the Afghans were Copts belonging to the race of the Pharaohs. After Moses's triumph over the Pharaoh, a large body of them embraced Judaism, while others who held fast to their own faith migrated from their home to Hindustan where they settled down in the Sulaiman ranges and became known by the name of the Afghans.[2] Ferishta added an interesting fable to this account. According to him Khalid bin Walid who was ruler of Kabul, did not go back to his country after he was relieved of his post, but shifted with his family and dependants to the Sulaiman ranges where he settled down. Subsequently he offered the hand of his daughter to a leading Afghan chief who had embraced Islam This Quraish woman was the mother of many children, of whom one Lodi, and the other Sur achieved fame.[3]

(b) *Persian origin*—According to the Moorish traveller, Ibn Battuta who visited India in 1333-34 AD. the Afghans were descended from the Iranians. "Kabul" he says "is inhabited by a people from Persia called the Afghans. Their mountains are difficult of access. They are a powerful and violent people and the greater part of them high-way robbers".[4]

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1 Jarrett, *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, 402-408. *Ain*. lith. ed 189-91.

2 *T. F.* lith. ed. 17

3 Ibid

4 Samuel Lees, *Travels of Ibn Battuta*, 1829, 98

The Afghan patriot, Jamaluddin Afghani, in his book *Hamari Qawm* supported the view of the Iranian descent of the Afghans.

Armenian origin—Kruinsky, Jacober, and Reineggs held the view of the Armenian origin of the Afghans. According to this view, Japhet had three sons, Armen, Carduel, and Afghan, the descendants of whom migrated from their original home to the Sulaiman ranges and inhabited that country. This view was summarily rejected by Dr. Bernhard Dorn as *"not deserving of the smallest notice."*[1]

Jewish origin — This view is widely prevalent among the Afghans and upheld by western writers such as Bellew. Bellew, as a member of the British Political Mission, had been resident in the city of Kandahar in 1857. He rummaged through the chronicles in the library of the heir-apparent, Ghulam Haidar Khan Ghazi, and compiled an account on this question from the Persian and Pushtu works dating from the 17th to the 19th centuries.[2] His findings are in substantial agreement with those of Niamatullah Khan Harawi.

Niamatullah's account, as translated in the previous chapter, being based on traditional account is so disjointed and incongruous that it can hardly be credited.

(1) According to him, Khalid was an Israelite.

(2) He came to Ghor and announced to the people the advent of the Prophet Muhammad, upon which Qais, the foremost of the Afghan chiefs went to Madina in response to the invitation. Then followed his interview with the Prophet and unsolicited shower of honour and titles including *Pahtan* meaning *"Rudder"* in Syriac. The whole account at first reads like the narrative of an eye-witness, but is found, on slight scrutiny, to be strewn with supernatural events and therefore beyond the cognisance of history.

The account of the Afghan's zeal in the cause of Islam, ever since its rise in the 7th down the ages to the end of the 14th century, as offered by Niamatullah would induce

1 Dorn—*History of the Afghans*, II, 71.

2 H. W. Bellew — *Journal of the Political Mission to Kabul*.

a casual reader to regard the Afghans as the people chosen by Allah to act as His standard-bearer. Niamatullah has added an aureole to the Afghan name by tracing their pedigree to king Saul (Tālut).

Accordingly one becomes sceptical of Niamatullah's account regarding the Jewish origin of the Afghans. Niamatullah compiled this account in emperor Jahangir's reign, when the Afghan achievements had become a memory of the past and there was not the remote hope of the recovery of the Afghan power. Naturally the leading Afghans headed by Khān Jahān Lodi who played a subordinate role under the *Chaghtai* emperor, looked back with nostalgic pride to the glories won by the members of their race and became keen on recording them in an authentic chronicle. In such a circumstance it is not improbable that an effort was made to trace the Afghan pedigree to some eminent personage in remote antiquity. According to Niamatullah Khan's own statement, the scattered and confused genealogy of the Afghans was first put in a systematic form by his assistant Haibat Khan Kākar of Samana and incorporated into his work.

Hence the following remark made by Longworth Dames on the Afghan origin would appear to be very cogent.

"The theory of Hebrew descent of the Afghans which many modern writers have advocated is of purely literary origin and may be traced back to the *Makhzan-i-Afghani.* It is an example of the widely spread practice among the Mussalman races of Persia, India and Afghanistan of putting forword a genealogy, claiming connection with the Prophet or descent from some personage mentioned in the Quran."[1]

A story incorporated in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* by Minhaj-i-Siraj refutes the account of Ghor as having been a Jewish colony before the establishment of Islam there. According to this story, a rivalry arose between Shish and Amir Banji, ancestor of Shansab, for the sovereignty of Ghor. A Hebrew merchant who dwelt in Kabul took up the side of Amir Banji and helped him to win the contest by tutoring him in court etiquette,

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1 *Ency. Islam,* 1. 60

on condition of his having undertaken to *settle throughout* the whole of his territory a number of Bani Israel.[1] Whatever might be the truth of the story, it sufficiently indicates that a large influx of Jews had not occurred in Ghor and the adjoining region before the caliphate of Harun-Al-Rashid.

The Afghans do not figure in history before the rise of sultan Mahmud of Ghazna (11th C. AD). Previous to that period the territory comprising Afghanistan had passed through many political convulsions caused by successive invasions and waves of immigration by peoples belonging to the Aryan stock, as follows :

(a) In the Zend Avesta mention is made of the following places which would indicate the penetration of the regions by Iranians.

Avesta	*Classical*	*Modern*
Haraewa (Achaem)	Ariana	Herat
Haraiwa	(Areia)	Hari Rud
Zaranka (Achaem)	Drangiana	Zaranj (medieval town in Seistan)
Haetumant	Etymandros	Helmand
Harahwaiti (Achaem)	Arachotis or Arachosia	Arghandab river.
Paruparanissana (stands for Gandhara in Babylonian version of the Achaem, inscriptions).	Paropanisus	HinduKush[2]

(b) The following six out of the twenty provinces of the Achaemenid kings were included in Afghanistan indicating presumably the settlement of the Iranians in the country, if they had not already spread over it.

Zaranka	Herodotus	Now Seistan
Areia	"	" Herat

1 T. N. B. I. 87-88

2 Sykes—*History of Afghanistan* 40-47,

Bactria	,,	New Afghan Turkistan (with its ancient capital of Bactra, now Balkh)
Gandara	,,	Medieval Gandhara (the Kabul Valley).
Thatagush	Sattagydai.	Hazara country of today.
Harauwati	Arachosia	Kandahar province.[1]

From the 3rd to the 1st century B. C. the country roughly comprising modern Afghanistan was carved out among petty Greek kings. In the 1st century B. C. the Greeks were supplanted by the Sakas who swept in a body to this country and occupied Seistan. In the 6th country A. D. Southern Afghanistan and Gandhara were occupied by the Epthalite Huns.

The Arab invasion of the country occurred in the middle of the 7th century A. D. when the Arab commander 'Abdullah bin Amir[2] occupied Zaranj and pushed forward into Zamindawar and Ghor. In the latter place a gold idol was destroyed by the invading army.[3] This is the first recorded Arab invasion of the country. Islam, however, did not appear to have taken firm foot until Yaqub ibn-al-Lais, founder of the Saffarid dynasty occupied Kabul, about 872 A. D. According to Ibn Hawkal, (10th century A.D.), the Buddhists, Jews and Muslims each lived in a separate area of the city of Kabul.

Two facts stand out from the above sketch. Firstly, the races belonging to the Aryan stock (e. g. the Iranians, the Greeks and the Scythians) occupied this country in successive epochs. Secondly, the Arab and Jewish settlements did not presumably occur until the 7th century A. D. Would it be reasonable to assert against these two facts the view that the Afghan race originated out of a Jewish colony forced out of Babylon by king Nebuchadrezzar into Ghor. Bellew, no doubt based his conclusion on the traditional account supplemented by the physiognomic resemblances between the Afghans and the Jews, similarity in some of their laws and customs, and above all,

1 Sykes *History of Afghanistan*, 47
2 Hitti — *History of the Arabs*, 157
3 Sykes—*History of Afghanistan* 159

certain beliefs connected with the scriptural tradition cherished equally by both the peoples. But he was equally keen enough to note certain characteristics which were common both to the Rajputs and the Afghans. "As for instance in the laws of hospitality, protection to the refugee, exaction of vengeance, jealousy of female honour, the brother becoming, by right, husband of his deceased brother's widow and others which are also ordained by the Mosaic code[1] and the striking similarity in their physiognomy." He even conjectured that Saraban,[2] the progenitor of the Afghan races, was a corruption of the word Suryabans (Solar race) from which some Rajput ruling families claim to have descended.

While not wishing entirely to discount the theory of the Israelite origin of the Afghan, among whom this is a strong and persistent tradition, would it not be more reasonable to hold that the Afghan race sprang out of a mixture principally of the Scythian and Jewish colonists.[3]

1 Bellew—*The Afghan Races*, 23-24

2 " *Do* , 23

3 Two writers have expressed their views on this question in recent years. (1) S. M. Imamuddin made a plea for the Israelite origin in Islamic Culture, 1949. It is a long rambling essay and does not add to what had been previously said. (2) Dr. A. B. Pandey merely sets forth the views of Bellew and follows Sir Wolsely Haig on this question by "neither affirming nor denying the theory of the Israelitish origin". *The First Afghan Empire in India*, 34.

B. NOTE ON THE TERMS —AFGHAN AND PATHAN

The two words are at present generally admitted to be interchangeable but this view is not shared by the various tribes living in that mountainous country. The late Sir Denzil Ibbetson studied this question painstakingly and no better signification of the two terms can be given to guide the reader than by quoting *in extenso* his words.

"The words Pathan and Afghan are used indifferently by the natives of India to designate the nation under discussion. But the two words are not used as synonyms by the people themselves. The original Afghans are a race of probably Jewish or Arab extraction : and they, together with a tribe of Indian origin with which they have long been blended, still distinguish themselves as the true Afghans, or since the rise of Ahmad Shah Durrani as Durranis and class all non-Durrani Pashto-speakers as Opra. But they have lately given their name to Afghanistan, the country formerly known as Khorasan, over which they have now held sway for more than a century.

Just as the English and Scotch who early in the 17th century, settled among and intermarried with the Irish, are now called Irish, though still a very distinct section of the population, so all inhabitants of Afghanistan are now in common parlance known as Afghan, the races thus included being the Afghan proper, the Pathan proper, the Ghilzai, the Tajik and the Hazara, besides tribes of less importance living on the confines of the country.

The true Pathans are apparently of Indian origin. Their language is called Pashto or Pakhto and they call themselves Pukhtana or Pakhto speakers, and it is this word of which Pathan is the Indian corruption. They held in the early centuries of our era, the Safed Koh and northern Sulaiman systems from the Indus to the Helmand and from the sources of the Swat river and Jalalabad to Peshin and Quetta. The Afghans and Ghilzais spread into their country and adopted their language and customs, and just as Irish, Scotch and Welsh, speaking the English language are commonly called Englishmen, so all who speak the *Pakhto* tongue came to be included under the term Pathan. Thus the Afghans and Ghilzais are Pathans by virtue of their language, though not

of Pathan origin; the Tajiks and Hazaras who have retained their Persian speech are not Pathans; while all five are Afghans, by virtue of location, though only one of them is of Afghan race.

The Afghans proper claim descent from Saul, the first Jewish king and there is a formidable array of weighty authority in favour of their Semitic origin......Mr Thoburn quoted in support of their Jewish extraction "some peculiar customs obtaining among the tribes of purest blood, for instance, the passover-like practice of sacrificing an animal and smearing the doorway with its blood in order to avert calamity, the offering of sacrifices, the stoning to death of blasphemers, the periodical distribution of land and so forth". The Afghan proper is said still to call himself Bani-Afghan or Bani Israel to distinguish himself from the Pathan proper who is of Indian and the Ghilzai who is probably of mixed Persian and Turkish extraction[1]

Bellew's views which are in substantial agreement with those of Sir Denzil are as follows. By the people of India and of the East generally, the Afghan is more commonly known by the name Pathan, in common with all other Pukhto-speaking peoples. Sometimes he is also called Rohilla, but this name is properly applicable only to the true Pathan, the native of Roh, (the Highlands).

Amongst themselves, and in their own country, the Afghans rarely, if ever, call themselves by these names. They are simply Afghan or Aoghan or they are Durrani, a term which only came into use with the rise of the nation to an independent sovereignty under Ahmad Shah in 1747......The Afghans admit that they are Pukhtana (the Hindustani form of which is Pathan) but they are careful in insisting on the distinction between Afghan and Pathan. In fact, as they say, every Afghan is a Pukhtun, (singular of Pukhtana) but every Pukhtun or Pathan is not an Afghan. The distinction thus made is a very proper one, for the two peoples are of different race and origin. The Afghan is a Pathan, merely

1 H. A. Rose, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-Western Frontier Province*, III, 214-15

because he inhabits a Pathan country and has to a great extent, mixed with its people and adopted their language.'

. . . .

From what has been stated above the Afghans are a distinct and peculiar people among several other peoples who together compose the mixed population of the country which is now named after them. They call themselves Bani Isr u.[1]

The term 'Pathan' is the Hindustani form of the native word 'Pakhtana' which is the plural of Pukhtun.

. . .

"What the meaning of the word Pukhta, from which Pukhtun and its derivatives are held to come may be is a matter *of speculation. By some it is supposed to be the same word* as '*Pukhta*'' a ridge or hill—in distinction to '*Ghar*'—a *mountain chain or peak*'', the two words corresponding respectively to the Persian 'Pushta' and K h.''

"In the time of Herodotus, four centuries before our era, this very country was called *Pactiya* or *Pactiyica*, and its natives Pactiyans. In western Afganisthan, the harsh, *Kh*, is changed into the soft *Sh* and *Pukhtun* becomes *Pushtun*, *Pukhtu* becomes *Pushtu* and so on. . . In short, the Pakhtun or Pukhtun of to day, we may take it, is identical in race and position with the *Pactiyan*, of the Greek historian.

There is a very remarkable coincidence in terms, if nothing more, derivable from this word Pactiya. Herodotus mentions another and entirely distinct country of this name in the province of Armenia. And it is not difficult to trace the same name through the countries of Southern Europe to the ancient Pictavium — or modern Poictiers — in France and thence on to the Picts of our own Islands. In fact to the curious speculator in archaeology, there is a wide field for enquiry and research in this Pakhtun-Khwa country, where the Pacts and Scyths who inhabit it may he held to correspond with the Picts and Scots of our own country, whilst the *Kambari of the Khan of Kelat's family and large sections of the Afridi people called Kambar Khel and Kamari together with the*

1 H. W. Bellew—*The Races of Afghanistan*, 1880, 24-25

Logari of Logar or *Lohgar, may be compared with the Cambrians and Logrians of ancient Britain.* Whether there be any connection or not between these names, their similarity and juxtaposition in such widely separated regions is at least noteworthy, if not deserving of more serious attention and investigation.

This Pactiya of Herodotus was a country bordering on the Indus and the most eastern province of those into which the empire of Darius Hystaspes was divided. It contained four contiguous nations, (a) Gandarii (identified with the ancient inhabitants of that part of the Peshawar valley now known as Yusufzai and Mahmand country, (b) Aparytae, (c) Sattagyddae, (identified with the Afridi and the Khattak of the present day) (d) Dadicae, (most probably represented by the nearly extinct tribe of Dadi who dwell amongst the Kaka). By outsiders and foreigners — on the side of India almost exclusively — the country is known by the name of Roh.[1]

Bellew — *The Races of Afghanistan*, 67-68

CHAPTER II

EARLY CAREER OF BAHLOL LODI

I

It is narrated by the author of the *Tārikh-i-Ibrāhim Shāhi* and the *Tārikh-i-Nizāmi* that Malik Bahlol was the brother's son of sultan Shah Lodi who bore the title of Islam Khan during the reigns of sultan Mubārak Shāh and Sayyid Khizr Khan. Sultan Shah[1] who was a distinguished chief of his clan, obtained the *pargana* of Sirhind in fief and administered the country around it. As he saw marks of ability and discernment in his nephew, he brought him up as his own son and nominated him his heir before he died. When Malik Bahlol became *hākim* of Sirhind,[2] he asserted full authority. Qutb Khan, son of Islam Khan, refused to submit to him, and having appeared before the reigning monarch, sultan Muhammad Shah, complained against Bahlol.[3]

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1 Sultan Shah Lodi was first appointed to Samana in 1888 A. D. (*T. A.* B. I. text 288), made governor of Sirhind in July—Aug, 1419 A. D. and then deputed against Sarang Khan (ibid 269). In 1430 A. D. he was killed near Multan while fighting with Shaikh Ali, deputy of Suyurghatmish, fourth son of Shah Rukh in Kabul, (ibid 282).

2 According to Ferishta, Malik Bahram Lodi, grandfather of Malik Bahlol, first came to Multan and obtained service under its governor, Malik Mardan Daulat. Of his five sons, Sultan Shah, Malik Kālā, Malik Firuz, Malik Muhammad, Malik Khwāja, Sultan Shah was appointed at Multan by Sayyid Khizr Khan. He gathered round him a band of Afghans and won the title of Islām Khan and the fief of Sirhind by defeating Mallu Iqbal. He was then joined by his brothers including Malik Kālā, father of Bahlol. Bahlol's mother died at the time of his birth, and he was brought up by Sultan Shah who later on married him to his daughter. Sultan Shah *alias* Islam Khan rose to great power and was joined by twelve thousand Afghans. At the time of his death, he nominated Bahlol, his heir, in preference to his son Qutb Khan. The Afghans, however, did not accept Bahlol as their leader and became split up into three parties :—one under Malik Firuz, uncle of Bahlol, the other under Qutb Khan, son of Islam Khan, while the rest followed Bahlol.

3 Qutb Khan informed the sultan that the Afghans had assembled at Sirhind and might march to Delhi. Sultan Muhammad Shah sent a large army under Qutb Khan and Sikandar Tuhfa against Malik Bahlol and directed Jasrath, the Khokhar chief, to cooperate with them. Bahlol, unable to match his strength with them, proceeded towards the Siwalik foot-hills, but Sikandar Tuhfa, commander of the Delhi army, inveigled him and his uncle Malik Firuz to a conference on a solemn promise of safety and had then Malik Firuz arrested treacherously. The leaderless Afghans left behind in the camp were then attacked, plundered and slain without mercy. Bahlol escaped to the Siwalik hills and turned to highway robbery, as the only means of his survival.

The sultan sent a large army against him under Malik Hisām Khan. one of his most faithful servants whose name had originally been Hāji Shudani and who had risen to the rank of an emir. When they overtook each other, a violent engagement took place in the village of Garha within the limits of the *pargana* of Khizrabad-Sadhaura.[1] Hisām Khan was defeated and returned to Delhi.[2] Malik Bahlol gained full power and authority.

It is said that Malik Bahlol, while in the service of his uncle,[3] went to Samana on certain urgent matters. He had two intimate friends in his company. On hearing that there was a saint nearby named Sayyid Ābban,[4] he went to him with his two friends and took his seat with all due respect. The saint said, "Is there anybody who would buy the sultanate of Delhi with only two thousand rupees ?" Bahlol immediately brought out of his purse the sum of one thousand and three hundred rupees, saying "This is all that I have." The holy man accepted this sum and said, "May you be blessed with the sovereignty[5] of Delhi" بادشاهی دهلی مبارک باشد

The two friends joked together and made fun of Bahlol, upon which the latter said, "Two things only can happen, as a consequence of this event. If the prophecy turns out to be true, it would be an excellent bargain. If not, I have won great merit by service to this recluse." It is stated in certain chronicles that Malik Bahlol was a trader. This is

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He occasionally led forays into the plains below, shared the spoils equally with his Afghan following and gradually grew in strength. Ferishta is the only chronicler who mentions this episode, (Ferishta, lith. ed., 173-174)

1 Sadhaura, in Ambala dist., 80 miles north east of Thaneswar.

2 *T. A.* B. I. 296, *T. F.* 174. Abdullah says that Hisam Khan went to Badaun after this defeat, (*T. D.* 7). Ahmad yādgar wrongly states (*T. S.* 4-5) that Hisam Khan was killed in the action.

3 According to *W. M.* Bahlol offered the money when he visited this place as a trader.

4 This word is written variously in *T. F. T. S.* and *Mirat-i-Aftab Numa.*

5 Col. Briggs reads the word as 'Shahbash Beta.' شاه باش بیته. The burning faith of the medieval muslim in the saints and in their miracle-working powers is illustrated by the following verse of Nizāmuddin Ahmad.

سالکان راه همت چون ارادت بینند

ملک کاوس و فریدون بگدائی بدهند

The travellers on the road of piety, when they discern the true humility of discipleship, confer the kingdom of Kaikaus and Faridun on a beggar.

neither verifiable nor authentic.[1] His grandfather and father were evidently traders and used to make frequent excursions to Hindustan. Briefly speaking, after the death of Islam Khan, Malik Bahlol took possession of Sirhind with the assistance of his uncle, Malik Firuz

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1 **Shaikh Rizqullah refutes the above statement by saying that Bahlol began his career as a trader and met Shaikh Abban at Multan, when he was there in course of his trading transacation. The following account of Rizqullah is very interesting.**

القصه بسوداگری مشغول می بود تا وقتی همراه عم خود اسلام خان لودی جهت سوداگری پیش سلطان محمد نبیره خضر خان بادشاه دهلی آمده بود و اسپان خودرا بدست سلطان فروخت - مبلغ بهائی اسپ را در محالی برات کردند که انجا مواس بود - ساکنان انجا همه متمرد و مفسد بودند - گفتند ما با جماعهٔ مردم میرویم - انچه از دست آید درکوشش تقصیر نخواهم کرد - سلطان محمد حکم فرمود که اگر آن مواس را شما زیر کنید آن پرگنه بشما عنایت خواهم فرمود و آنچه از غنیمت بدست افتد تعلق بشما داشته باشد - چون ایشان انجا رسیدند بعد از محاربه و مجادله متمردانرا زیر کردند و غارت و تاراج کرده هرچه از بندگان و مواشی و اجناس بدست ایشان افتاده بود بیش سلطان آوردند- چون سلطان از ایشان انچنان دلیری و جسارت مشاهده نمود غنیمت با ایشان بخشید و جهت ایشان حفت پرگنه تعین فرمود - از ان تاریخ سوداگری گذاشته به سپا هگری مشغول شدند - روز بروز مرتبه ایشان در ترقی بود بجای رسید که جمعیت و شجاعت ایشان در تمام قلمرو سلطان کسی نبود - در سهرند و لودیانه اوقات بسر می بردند ز مردم از اطراف می‌آمدند و جمعیت بروز از روز دگر زیاده میشد و هرسال یراق خود به سلطان مینمودند - تا نعام و اکرام مخصوص میکردند سامان و جمعیت ایشان بکثرت انجامید - اکثر ولایت در تصرف ایشان آمد - درانوقت اسلام خان ازین عالم رحلت نمود - بلو قیم مقام او گردید -

Bahlol engaged himself in the pursuit of trade, until he went to sultan Muhammad, grandson of Khizr Khan, for a business deal, in the company of his uncle and made a sale of horses. The sultan paid the price by a bill of exchange on a locality, inhabited by the Meos who had been obstinate in hostility. Bahlol consented to go there with the body of his following and spare no pains in dealing with them in accordance with the exigency of the situation. Sultan Muhammad said that if the Meos could be overthrown, he would grant them this *pargana* and the spoils that would fall into their hands would belong to them. When they reached the place, they defeated the rebels in a violent engagement. They sacked and plundered and surrendered to the sultan the booty

and all his relations and asserted his power and authority. Due to the Shaikh's prophecy, made during his boyhood, his ambition, phœnix-like, soared towards the heights of sovereignty and he was on the watch for an opportunity to seize the bird of kingship in his talons. After his victory over Hisām Khan, he sent a memorandum (to sultan Muhammad Shah) setting forth the former's evil-doing and wickedness as contrasted with his own loyalty and devotion and pledged his own submission and obedience, in the event of the sultan replacing Hisām Khan[1] in the wazirship by Hamid Khan. Sultan Muhammad, considering it expedient to comply with Malik Bahlol's wishes, had Hisām Khan assassinated[2] and appointed Hamid Khan in his place. On hearing this news, Malik Bahlol came submissively to the sultan's presence with the entire Lodi following, yielded allegiance and was confirmed in his assignment.

Subsequent to this event, Malik Bahlol conducted a campaign on behalf of sultan Muhammad against sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa and won vitory for which the sultan honoured him with the title of Khan-i-Khanan.[3] The Lodis gradually acquired strength and seized,

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consisting of slaves, animals and goods which had fallen into their hands. The sultan marked this bravery and intrepidity on their part by a generous gift of this booty to them and assignment of seven *parganas*. From this time forward Bahlol gave up trading and took to soldiering His position went on improving from day to day until no body in the sultan's dominion could equal him in the number of following and bravery. He passed his days in Sirhind and Ludhiana end was joined by the people of the neighbourhood. His following went on increasing from day to day. Every year he presented himself before the sultan in full equipment and was distinguished with favour. His accoutrements and following increased ; and a large territory came under his control. At this time Islam Khan died and Ballu established himself in his place.

1 *T. A.* B. I. text. 293-296, confirms this account.

2 Hisam Khan's assassination by order of sultan Muhammad Shah is supported by other sources, *T. A.* 296, *T. D.* f. 7

3 According to *T. A.*, and *T. F.*, Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa attacked Delhi in 844/1440 A. D. invited by a number of leading noblemen of the city. Sultan Muhammad Shah was then unable to cope with the forces of disorder which were rampant in the country and the Malwa army under the sultan of Malwa who made a bid for the sovereignty of Delhi. Sultan Mahmud came to Tughlaqabad but was obliged to retreat precipitately after an indecisive encounter, on receiving the report of a rising in Mandu and Ahmad Shah Gujrati's invasion of Malwa (*T. A.* 291 *T. F.* 171. 174, *M. T.* 304, *T. A.* Eng. tr. III, 509-510. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Bayley's tr. 122) assigns Ahmad Shah's invasion to 841 AH/1436 A. D.

without the royal permission,[1] Lahore, Dipalpur, Sunam, Hisar-Firuza and other *parganas.* They disregarded all the royal mandates and. having established full ascendancy and power, raised the standard of revolt. Malik Bahlol having mustered his forces, marched against sultan Muhammad and laid siege to Delhi. Unable to capture it he returned to Sirhind, and assumed the title of sultan Bahlol, putting off the recitation of the *Khutba* and the engraving of coinage in his name until the conquest of Delhi.

Shortly afterwards sultan Muhammad died.[2] The nobles and grandees of the state raised his son sultan 'Alāuddin on the throne. The whole of Hindustan was split up into faction; تمام هند ملوک طوائف شد and the Lodis won complete ascendancy. Ahmad Khan ruled from Mewat[3] to Mehrauli and Ladu Serai, near Delhi. The Lodis held sway over Sirhind, Lahore, Samana, Sunam, Hisar and its neighbourhood extending as far as Panipat. Dariya Khan Lodi ruled the country from Sambhal to the ferry of Khwaja Khizr, near Delhi. Isa Khan Turkbachha held Koil; Qutb Khan, son of Hasan Khan Afghan, Rapri,[4] Rai Pratap, Bhongaon town,[5] Kampil[6] and Patiali,[7] Dāud Khan Auhadi, Bayana, while sultan 'Alāuddin administered the city of Delhi with a few adjoining villages and

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1 *T. F* corroborates *M. A.*; *T. A.*'s statement is contradictory. *T. A.* B. I. 291, states in one place that the sultan had granted the districts of Lahore and Dipalpur to Malik Bahlol to encourage him in a compaign against Jasrath Gakkhar. Elsewhere p. 296 it refers to Malik Bahlol having forcibly occupied the places.

2 According to *T. A.* Sultan Muhammad's death occurred in 847 AH/1448 A. D.; according to Ferishta in 849 A. H/1445 A. D.

3 The MSS have Mehrauli to Ladu serai which is meaningless. Prof. Hodiwala suggested Macheri for Mehrauli (*S. I. M. H*). I would prefer Mewat, for Ahmad Khan's predecessor in Mewat, Bahadur Nahir ruled from Mewat to Delhi, Eng. tr. *T. M. S.* 162, *M. T.* 268

4 Rapri, in Shikohabad *tahsil*, Mainpuri district, 44 miles south west of Mainpuri town. It was situated at a bend of the Jamuna in 1529 A. D. (*Memoirs of Babur*, *II* 643). In Akbar's time it was a mahāl within the sarkar of Agra, (*Ain.* II, 194) Gen. Cunningham in 1874 described this place as situated in the midst of ravines, two miles distant from the Jamuna.

5 Bhongaon : about 10 miles distant from Mainpuri town, a *mahāl* with a fort, *Ain*, II, 196.

6 Kampli : situated in Farrukhabad dist, a *mahāl* in Kanauj sarkar, *Ain*, 196.

7 Patiali. situated in Aliganj tahsil, Etah dist. Kampil and Patiali were the two principal centres of Hindu resistance. Elliot. III. 140, IV, 147

exercised royalty over this territory.[1] The rulers of Gujrat, the Deccan, Malwa, Jaunpur and Bengal were each independent.

Sultan Bahlol, having mobilised his force for the second time, marched to Delhi from Sirhind, but he failed to capture the city and returned to his post.[2] At this time sultan 'Alāuddin in order to strengthen himself sought alliance with Qutb Khan Lodi and Rai Pratap. They agreed to wrest some of the *parganas* from the feudatories and add them to his domain,[3] if he dismissed Hamid Khan from the wazirship and imprisoned him. The sultan ordered the arrest and confinement of Hamid Khan and marched from Delhi to Burhānābād near Amroha. Qutb Khan, 'Isa Khan and Rai Pratap met him there and proposed to annex forty *parganas* to the royal domain, on condition of Hamid Khan being put to death. As Hamid Khan's father had plundered Pratap's territory and abducted his wife, Rai Pratap, out of this grudge, incited the sultan to take the life of Hamid Khan. Sultan 'Alāuddin, owing to his inexperience in administration ordered Hamid Khan to be killed, without much forethought or consideration. Being aware of this the Khan's brothers contrived his escape from prison by a series of clever tricks and went away to Delhi. Malik Muhammad Jamāl, the gaoler, pursued him to his house and attacked him there. A large number of men gathered round Hamid Khan and caused a great tumult. Hamid Khan forced his way into the sultan's female apartments and turned his begams, women and children, out of the fort of Delhi, without head-coverings and seized all the royal wealth and effects. Sultan 'Alāuddin, unfortunately, could not take any steps. He bided his time, putting off the task of revenging this indignity and remained at Badaun, on account of the rains. Hamid Khan now wanted to seize this opportunity to depose sultan 'Alāuddin in favour of somebody else. As sultan Mahmud, king of Jaunpur, was a relative

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1 According to *T. D.* Ms and *T. S.* B. I. the people of the times had coined a phrase to indicate the precarious sovereignty of 'Alāuddin 'Ālam Shah saying, مردم ان عصر میگفت که پادشاهی شاه عالم از دهلی تا پالم *T. S.* 5)

2 *T. A.* and *T. F.* support this account of Bahlol's second attack on Delhi.

3 According to Abdullah, the chiefs made this proposal at the instance of Bahlol. برهنموی بهلول *T. D.* f. 8. According to him Rai Pratap Deo instigated the sultan against Hamid Khan by saying that Hamid Khan had made a secret agreement with sultan Mahmud of Mandu, to place the latter on the throne of Delhi. *T. D.* f. 6.

of sultan Husain, and sultan Mahmud of Mandu was far-off, he did not consider it discreet to invite either of them. He was turning over this idea in his mind, when Malik Bahlol, aware of his sentiments and the state of his affairs, came with his troops in full strength from Sirhind to Delhi.[1] Hamid Khan who was a man of great power and influence, shut himself up and prevented Bahlol's admission to the city. After making many promises and assurances, Bahlol interviewed Hamid Khan. He temporised and made show of excessive civility. He went daily to salute him, attended by a large body of Afghans who had come from Roh[2] and began to think of means by which he could win the royal sceptre and overthrow Hamid Khan.

Once Hamid Khan held a grand festival to which he invited a large body of noblemen. Malik Bahlol was among those invited. He instructed his Afghan followers to behave in this assembly in a foolish and stupid manner, so that Hamid Khan, taking them to be simpletons, might cease to have any fear or apprehension of them. Some of them tied their shoes to their waists, while others put them on a shelf above the Khan's head. Hamid Khan said "What are you doing this for ? They replied, "We are keeping them out of the reach of thieves". After sometime, the Afghans said to Hamid Khan, "What wonderful colours your carpet has ! If you would be kind enough to let us have a piece of it, we shall make caps and fillets out of it for our children and send them as presents to Roh. This would make the people conscious of the position, honour and affluence which we have achieved in your service". Hamid Khan laughed scornfully and said, "Yes, I shall give you some fine fabrics which you can use as gifts." When scented trays were brought, some Afghans licked the lime and chewed the flowers ; others unfolded the betel-leaf, first tasted the lime and then ground the betel with the teeth, when their mouths were blistered. They performed many other antics. Hamid Khan again said to Malik Bahlol, "Why are they behaving like this ?" to which the latter replied, "They are country bumpkins and have rarely been

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1 This account is identical with that of *T. A.*, the text of *Makhzan* corresponds here with that of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* almost word for word. But Abdullah, author of the *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, Sarkar Ms, f. 8-12, gives a different version. According to him, Bahlol was invited to Delhi by Hamid Khan and put in charge of the city and the fortress of Delhi. How he used this high position to secure his own ends is detailed at length.

2 According to Niamatullah, Roh comprised a large area extending from Bajaur to Siwi in Bhakkar and from Hasan Abdal to Kabul, (*M. A. 42a*, A. S. B. Ms. No. 100.)

with civilized people. All they know is how to eat and die." When Malik Bahlol went to interview Hamid Khan, he used to take with him a handful of men inside the court, while the large company was kept standing outside. (Once) Hamid Khan invited Bahlol to a banquet when the Afghans at a sign from the latter elbowed their way in, past the guards and said, "We are also servants of Hamid Khan ; so why should we not be allowed to offer our respects." Hamid Khan ordered them to be admitted. Immediately they all rushed together and for every guard of Hamid Khan, there were two Afghans standing by. When at the end of the banquet, the Khan's men took leave, Qutb Khan Lodi drew out a chain from under his armpit, and placing it before Hamid Khan, said, "You must remain in close confinement for sometime ; because of past favours you have shown me, I refrain from taking your life". The Khan was put in irons and handed over to the guards.[1]

1 W. M. B. M. Ms. corroborates this account.

II

When the kingdom of Delhi passed into Malik Bahlol's hands without any opposition and impediment, he ascended the throne on the 17th Rabi 1/855 AH 19th April, 1451 A. D.[1] at an hour chosen auspicious by the astrologers and a time deemed propitious by the soothsayers and a moment deemed suitable by augurers, proficient in the reading of stars, and brahmins, well trained in the selection of appropriate time. He caused the *Khutba* to be read and the coinage struck in his name and assumed the title of sultan Bahlol. He made laudable efforts to please the nobility and the soldiers, the rich and the poor. He conciliated large numbers of people by means of justice and equity and won over everybody to his side.

Shortly after he had established himself at Delhi, he wrote to sultan 'Alāuddin saying, "I was brought up by Your Majesty's father, and I have been conducting as your deputy, the business of administration which slipped out of your hands, without expunging your name from the *Khutba*. 'Alāuddin wrote in reply, "As my father addressed you as his son, I look upon you as my elder brother and resign kingship to your hands and shall live in contentment at Badaun". Bahlol took up the work of administration in high spirit and enthusiasm. He forcibly seized the *parganas* around Delhi and brought them under his authority.

In the very year of his accession he marched to Lahore to bring order to the district of Multan and the outlying areas. Some of sultan 'Alāuddin's nobles who did not like the rule of the Lodis made a representation to sultan Mahmud Sharqi about the state of affairs and invited him (to Delhi). In 855 AH/1451 sultan[2] Mahmud marched to

1 T. D. assigns 850 AH/1343 A. D. as the date of Bahlol's accession ; evidently the word *Khams* was dropped out by the scribe, because *T. A. M. T.* and *T. F.* assign 855. A. H. *T. Shahi* mentions 27th Muharram of the same year as the day of Bahlol's coronation (*T. Shahi*, 10) which is at variance with all our sources and evidently wrong.

2 According to Ferishta, the Sharqi invasion occurred in 856 AH. Abdullah ascribes this invasion solely to the influence and instigation of sultan Mahmud Sharqi's wife who was a daughter of sultan 'Alāuddin. "Delhi, said she, was the kingdom of my father, Who is Bahlol that he should seize my hereditary possession.

Delhi from Jaunpur with a vast army and commenced the siege of the city. Khwaja Bāyazid, son of sultan Bahlol, along with certain other noblemen, barricaded themselves inside the fort. At this news sultan Bahlol marched back from Dipalpur and reached Narila, village 15 koss distant from Delhi. Though strings were pulled for an amicable adjustment, sultan Mahmud, out of conceit and pride, did not agree to it and deputed Fath Khan Harawi with thirty thousand horse and thirty-nine elephants against Bahlol. He took the field with his army formed in three division. On the side of Fath Khan was an elephant at the van which was disabled by a single arrow shot by Qutb Khan, unrivalled in that age in archery. Qutb Khan shouted to Dariya Khan Lodi who had espoused the cause of sultan Mahmud and was engaged in fighting on his behalf, saying,

> "Your mother and sisters are besieged in the fort and what sort of a man you are that you fight for the cause of a stranger, without having any regard for your own honour." Dariya Khan rejoined, "I shall leave the field. if you undertake not to pursue me." As soon as Qutb Khan made this pledge, Dariya Khan wheeled off the field.[1] Defeat befell the army of Fath Khan who fell a prisoner.[2]

If you do not mount the horse, I shall strap my quiver to my waist and march against him" *T. D.* f. 16. A similar account is given in *T. S.* 10.

دختر سلطان علاء الدین در حبالهٔ او بود — بشوهر خود گفت که ملک دهلی از پدر
و جد من بود — بهلول خان کیست که ملک مورث فرو گیرد — اگر تو سوار نمی
شوی من ترکش در کمر بندم و بر سر بهلول بروم و بار مصاف دهم —

1 The whole passage taken *verbation* from T. A. is obscure and elucidated here with reference to the texts of *Tārikh-i-Dāudi*. and *Tārikh i-Shāhi* According to them, the defence of Delhi in Bahlol's absence was ably conducted by Prince Bayazid. Bahlol's eldest son and Bibi Matto, widow of Islam Khan. The long-drawn siege, however, reduced the garrison to such straits that they became bent on capitulation and they deputed an envoy Sayyid Shamsuddin with the keys of the fort for delivery into the hands of Dariya Khan Lodi who had deserted to the Sharqi side. When Sayyid Shamsuddin met the Khan, he reminded him of his kinship with the Afghans and of his duty to defend the honour of Afghan women besieged in the citadel. Dariya Khan, impressed by the words, handed back the keys saying that he would do his duty to his clansmen. It would thus be evident that Qutb Khan raised the cry in the battle-field, in accordance with a well-laid-out plot, *T. D.* f. 18-19, *T. S.* 11-14, and Dariya Khan's sudden flight from the field ruined the prospects of the Sharqi king.

2 According to *T. A.* 309, *T. F.* 175 and *T. D.* Fath Khan who was previously taken captive was killed on this occasion.

At this turn of event, sultan Mahmud, unable to stand up in opposition to the enemy, returned to Jaunpur and sultan Bahlol acquired a firm footing. He assumed supreme power and authority and marched with his troops to subdue the country. At first he went to Mewat and wrested away seven *parganas* from Ahmad Khan and confirmed him in possession of the rest. The Khan sent his uncle Mubarak Khan as a hostage to the sultan who started from Mewat[1] for the town of Baran. Dariya Khan Lodi, *hakim* of Sambhal, paid homage and fealty and surrendered seven *parganas* as tribute. The sultan marched from here to Koil where 'Isa Khan was confirmed in his post. When he reached Burhānābād, Mubārak Khan, *hakim* of Sakit,[2] appeared before him and was similarly confirmed in his fief. Rai Pratap, *hakim* and zamindar of Bhongaon, was also reinstated in his position. From here he marched to the fort of Rapri, where Qutb Khan, son of Husain, shut himself up. The fort was captured within a short time. Khan Jahān conducted Qutb Khan to the sultan under promise of safety who put him back in possession of his fief. The sultan marched from Rapri to Etawah, *hakim* of which also submitted.

About this time sultan Mahmud Sharqi, son-in-law of sultan 'Alāuddin, instigated by his chief queen, Malikā Jahān, marched against sultan Bahlol. He marched with a large army to the neighbourhood of Etawah on the very first day. The day following Qutb Khan and Rai Pratap mediated and drew up a treaty on the following terms :— the territory which had been in possession of sultan Mubarak shah of Delhi was to belong to sultan Bahlol ; while sultan Mahmud was to rule over the territory of sultan Ibrāhim Shah of Jaunpur ; seven elephants that had been captured by sultan Bahlol in the (first) encounter with Fath Khan, were to be sent back to sultan Mahmud ; while sultan Bahlol was to take possession of Shamsābād from sultan Mahmud's deputy Juna Khan at the end of the rainy season. After

1 *Tārikh-i-Shāhi* offers a different version of sultan Bahlol's activity after his victory over the Sharqi king. According to this source Bahlol first marched to *Miyan-i-Doab* where he seized Rai Pratap and annexed his principality to his kingdom. He then turned his arms against Ahmad Khan Mewati. Ahmad Yadgar's account owing to occasional inconsistencies is less dependable than the other sources such as *T. A. T. D. T. F.* and *M. A.*

2 Sakit—in Etah district, lying on the direct route between Kampil and Rapri, 12 miles s. e. of Etah town, *vide* Ranking, Eng. tr. *M. T.* I. 377, Etah Dt. Gaz.

the conclusion of this treaty sultan Muhammad went back to Jaunpur, and sultan Bahlol, in accordance with the stipulated terms, wrote to Juna Khan, to evacute Shamsabad[1] and deliver it to Rai Karan, upon which Juna Khan disregarded this order. Sultan Bahlol personally marched to Shamsābād and having expelled him from the town and the fort conferred it on Rai Karan.

Juna Khan reported the matter to sultan Mahmud who, on hearing this news, again marched against sultan Bahlol, and broke the terms, An engagement occurred at Shamsabad. Qutb Khan and Dariya Khan Lodi made a night-attack on sultan Mahmud's army. By chance Qutb Khan's horse stumbled, upon which he dropped down the saddle and fell a prisoner into the hands of sultan Mahmud's army. Mahmud sent him in chains to Jaunpur where he remained in prison for seven years.[2] Sultan Bahlol now assigned prince Jalal Khan,[3] Sikandar Khan and 'Imad-ul-Mulk to the expedition against sultan Mahmud and and having posted Rai Karan to Shamsabad fort, he personally followed them with an army against the Sharqi sultan.

At this time sultan Mahmud fell ill; the cup of his life being filled to the brim, he died within two or three days. His mother Bibi Rāji who was a sagacious, wise and a gifted woman, placed Prince Bikhan Khan on the throne with the concurrence of the emirs and conferred upon him the title of sultan Muhammad Shah. Most of the nobles and grandees of the state mediated to bring about an agreement between the two kings on condition that the territory ruled over by sultan Mahmud should be held by sultan Muhammad : while sultan 'Alāuddin's possessions should belong to sultan Bahlol.

After this agreement sultan Mumammad Shah returned to Jaunpur and sultan Bahlol started for Delhi. As he reached the neighbourhood

1 Shamsabad—A town in Farrukhabad District, U. P. 18 miles n. w. of Fathegarh town ; Here was a fort in Akbar's reign, *Ain.* II. 196.

2 *T. F.* 176 has "*seven months*" but *T. D.* f. 21 and *T. A.* has "seven years".

3 Sultan Bahlol had several sons. (i) Khwaja Bayāzid (2) Nizam Khau, (3) Mubārak Khan entitled Barbak Shah (4) 'Alam Khan later on Sultan 'Alauddin, (5) Jamal Khan (6) Miyan Yaqub Khan (7) Fath Khan, (8) Miyan Musa Khan (9) Jalāl Khan. Among his grandees Qutb Khau, son of Islām Khan, (2) Khan Jahān Lodi (3) Dariya Khan were prominent, *T. D.* 15.

of Delhi, Shams Khātun, sultan Bahlol's principal wife[1] and sister of Qutb Khan, sent a message saying that he should forego rest, relaxation and sleep, as long as Qutb Khan remained in chains in Muhammad Shah's prison. Stung by these words sultan Bahlol marched back from Delhi[2] against Muhammad Shah who on hearing this news advanced from Jaunpur in order to encounter him. On reaching Shamsabad sultan Muhammad took it by force from Rai Karan, deputy of sultan Bahlol, and placed Juna Khan in charge of it. In spite of Rai Pratap's previous alignment with sultan Bahlol, he was now overawed by sultan Muhammad Shah's strength and went over to his side. The Sharqi sultan reached Barsani[3] by forced marches. Sultan Bahlol was encamped nearby in Rapri *pargana*. Fighting went on for some days between the two parties.[4] Sultan Muhammad Shah commanded the Jaunpur kotwal to have his brother Hasan Khan and Qutb Khan Lodi who was a prisoner in gaol killed. The kotwal wrote back saying that Bibi Rāji had taken both of them under her protection and he was powerless to bring about their death. On learning the contents of this letter, Muhammad Shah wrote craftily to his venerable mother, "My brother Hasan Khan is suffering great privation in jail. It would be very nice, if you, my adored mother, could bring about a reconciliation between me and my brother and then concede a portion of the kingdom to him,"

In compliance with this idea, Bibi Rāji set out on the mission. When she passed a few stages, an officer of sultan Muhammad Shah, by

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1 The name of another of Bahlol's wives is known from *M A*.L.U. Ms. and *T.S.*B.I. 17. According to *T. S*. the name is هيمة Haima and according to *M. A.* امبه Ambu. This lady was a goldsmith's daughter. Her face, according to T. S., was lovely as لاله rose and hair black as jet. Bahlol, while governor of Sirhind, used often to live in a villa outside the fort and was attracted by her beauty. He married her after ascending the throne of Delhi. She was the mother of sultan sikandar.

2 According to *T. D.* f. 21 and *T. A.* 304 the sultan returned from Dhankaur, about 28 miles s. e. of Delhi.

3 Barsani in M. A. L. U. Ms., *T. F.* and *T. A.* 308 has Sarsati, سرستی *T. F.* 176, Sasni ; سسنی *C. H. I.* III, 231 following *T. A.* writes that sultan Mahmud marched to Saraswati. According to Hodiwala the place in question was Sirsa, near Rapri, 27 miles south of Mainpuri, (*S. I. M. H.* 498). Dr A. B. Pandey skips over this name.

4 According to *T. D.* 21, the battle took place at Chandawar, 8 miles from Firuzabad in Agra district.

command, assassinated prince Hasan Khan. Bibi Rāji, having received the news at Kanauj, performed the mouning rites there and went back, without going to meet Muhammad Shah. When the latter heard the news of his mother's return, he wrote her another letter saying, "Why do you grieve for one son's death. If all the *shāhzādahs* were struck down at one place, my venerable mother, you would be able to mourn for them all at once."

Muhammad Shah had a ferocious nature. The nobles stood in awe of him. He was sanguinary, cruel and tyrannical. One day his younger brother Husain Khan, in concert with Sultān Shāh and Jalāl Khan Ajodhani reported to him sultan Bahlol's design of a night-attack and detached from the main army, with a body of thirty thousand cavalry and elephants in order to intercept the Afghan army and posted themselves by a water-fall,1 (جهرنه). When sultan Bahlol received this intelligence, he detailed a force to meet them. Prince Husain wanted to have Jalal khan in his train and sent for him, when Sultān Shāh said, "We cannot afford to delay ; let Jalal Khan follow us." So saying he marched towards Kanauj. By chance by a strange turn of circumstance, Bahlol's army was lying in ambush in order to confront them. Prince Jalal Khan, under summons of Husain Khan, separated from Muhammad Shah's army, and commenced his march towards the water-fall(جهرنه). Sultan (Bahlol's) soldiers learnt the news of the approach of the enemy army and took Jalal Khan prisoner. He was taken to sultan Bahlol who sent him to gaol as a reprisal for the imprisonment of Qutb Khan.

Owing to the captivity of one brother and the flight of another, Muhammad Shah became anxious lest prince Husain should go back to Jaunpur and stir up a rebellion. Unable to make a stand before sultan Bahlol's force, Muhammad Shah started for Kanauj. Sultan Bahlol pursued him as far as the Ganges and returned with a quantity of spoils, consisting of equipment and baggage.

1 The word in Calcutta, Lucknow and Aligarh MSS of *M. A.* is (*Jharna*), جهرنه a Hindi word, meaning a waterfall. According to *C. H.* I. 281 the prince marched to the banks of the *Jharna* which is obviously wrong. *Tārikh-i-Shāhi* refers to an attack of sultan Husain's army by ambuscade at Kalpi. vide appendix B.

In 857 AH/ 1453 A. D. Prince Husain[1] came to his mother Bibi Rāji. Alienated from sultan Muhammad, she, with the concurrence the nobles and chiefs of the kingdom, now placed prince Husain on the throne of Jaunpur under the title of sultan Husain. He deputed Malik Mubārak Gang, Malik 'Ali Gujrati and a number of noblemen against Muhammad Shah who had marched to the bank of the Ganges near Rajgarh.[2] At the approach of sultan Husain's army, some of the nobles who were displeased with Muhammad Shah, deserted him for Husain. Thereupon the former retreated with a hundred picked horsemen to an orchard nearby which was surrounded by sultan Husain's army. Muhammad Shah who was peerless in archery whom no man could equal, seized the bow. Previous to this event, Bibi Rāji had induced Muhammad Shāh's armour-bearer to remove the heads from the arrows in his quiver. He shot the arrows in order to do execution, but they were bereft of their heads. Eventually he took up the sword, throwing aside the bow and cut to pieces a number of men. By chance the arrow of destiny was shot by Mubārak Gang which struck Muhammad Shah in the throat, brought him down from the saddle, and caused his death as a consequence of the wound.

verse. Old mother earth kills all her sons,
Trust not the love of a crone that kills her children.

1 The date given in the Calcutta, Lucknow and Aligarh *MSS* of *M. A.* for this event is 857 A. H. *T. F.* puts it after 856 AH. These dates are wrong. For sultan Muhammad continued to issue coins till 868 A. H. 1459 A. D. (*J. A. S. B.* 1922, NS 81). *C. H.* I . III places the death of Muhammad Shah in 1453 A. D.

2 I cannot locate this place which was possibly on the Ganges. *T. A.* (ASB. Ms) calls it Gujar-i-Rajgarh) گذر راجگره but Aligarh Ms, L. U. Ms has only as راجگره

III

Lodi—Sharqi war

Subsequently, when this event became known, sultan Husain, by God's grace, became sole master of the kingdom and entered into a covenant with sultan Bahlol by which they mutually agreed to remain content with their respective territory for a period of four years. Rai Pratap now deserted to sultan Bahlol in order to placate Qutb Khan. After the conclusion of agreement sultan Husain marched to the vicinity of the hauz-i-Hariya حوض هریه. He summoned Qutb Khan Lodi from Jaunpur and sent him away to sultan Bahlol with great honour and esteem, giving him a royal robe, an elephant, a waist-dagger and a jewelled sword. Sultan Bahlol, on his part, sent away prince Jalal Khan to sultan Husain, having conciliated him by grant of high honour, rank and favour.[1]

After sometime sultan Bahlol started for Shamsābād and having wrested it from Juna Khan, granted it to Rai Karan. The sultan conferred upon Narsingh Deo,[2] son of Rao Pratap, the kettledrum and standard, having taken them by force from Dariya Khan. On this occasion Dariya Khan, having found opportunity, had Narsingh Deo murdered at the instigation of Husain Khan, son of Qutb Khan. Mubāriz Khan and Rai Pratap leagued themselves together and joined sultan Husain Sharqi. Sultan Bahlol, unable to cope with them, returned to Delhi.

Shortly after he marched towards Multan[3] to put down disturbances in the Panjab, leaving Qutb Khan Lodi and Khan Jahān as his deputies at Delhi during his absence. In course of the march[4] he

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1 M. A. L. U. Ms. 127, *T. F.* 176, *M. T.* 808, T. S. 16.

2 *T. A.* text 807. برسنگه Bar Singh, *T. F.* 176, *M. T.* 808. نرسنگه Nar Singh. The standard was the symbol of leadership سرداری

3 For Bahlol's compaign against the Langhas of Multan (*T. A.* Eng. tr. III, 793-95. *T. F.* 324). *T. S.* B. I. text, describes Bahlol's campaign with Ahmad Khan Bhatti which does not occur elsewhere.

4 I suggest 873/1468-69 as the date for this expedition on the following ground :

Tārikh-i-Ferishta and *Maasir-i-Rahimi* place Qutbuddin Langah's death and his son, Husain Langah's accession at Multan in 873 AH/1469. As Shaikh Yusuf, the expelled ruler of Multan, had become Bahlol's protege and been offered asylum at Delhi, the blow was presumably struck for him on the occasion of this change of crown.

received intelligence of sultan Husain's march towards Delhi with a well-equipped force and elephants as large as hillocks. He swiftly marched back to Delhi and having advanced with speed, confronted the enemy at Chandawar. The battle raged for a week between the two sides. In as much as the contest was sanguinary and drawn-out, the noblemen of both sides arranged a truce by which the two sultans mutually agreed to maintain the *status quo ante* and remain content with their respective boundaries for a period of three years. Sultan Bahlol remained in Delhi for three years, while sultan Husain returned to Jaunpur and engaged himself in the organisation of the army and the kingdom. During this interval sultan Bahlol marched against Ahmad Khan Mewati who had previously cooperated with sultan Husain. When he reached Mewat, Khān Khānān, a leading emir of sultan Bahlol, placated Ahmad Khan and brought him before the sultan. At this time Ahmad Khan,[1] son of Yusuf Khan, hakim of Bayana rebelled against sultan Bahlol. He reported to sultan Husain of his having had the *Khutba* read and the coinage struck in his name in the fort of Bayana.

Before three years[1] had expired sultan Husain marched towards Delhi with one lakh of cavalry and a thousand elephants. Sultan

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1 M. A. L. U. Ms. has the same version :

The Sharqi—Lodi conflict was the opportunity of Ahmad Khan. In 1446 A. D. he had won from Mahmud Shah, the Khalji sultan of Malwa, a gold crown. His successor Dāud Khan is mentioned as the ruler of Bayana, on the eve of Bahlol's accession. Ahmad Khan appears to have succeeded Dāud Khan. It is not known when the Bayana chief, adopted the use of their surname Julwani after their name, in supersession of the patronymic of Auhadi. Bayana was one of the tiny principalities that became indepent of Delhi, after the break-up of the central government, in 1898. The founder of this principality was Shams Khan, son of Auhad Khan, better known as Shams Khan Auhadi. He and his successors, Mubārak-Khan Karim-ul-Mulk and Muhammad Khan, gradually built up their power by a mixture of diplomacy and warfare with Mallu Iqbal, the Delhi wazir under Sayyid Khizr Khan and his son Mubārak Shah (1399—*T. M. S.* text, 169, 206, *T. A.* 276, *M. T.* 21, *T. F.* (lith. ed.). The triangular conflict between the sultans of Delhi, Malwa and Jaunpur was the opportunity of Mahmud Khan Auhadi. It appears that he played successfully upon the rivalry of the three kings and won from the Malwa sultan, Mahmud Khalji a gold crown. (*T. A.* III. 330) Mahmud Khan's successor was Daud Khan who in his turn was succeeded by Sultan Ahmad Julwani under whom this dynasty fell.

1. T. A. B. 1. writes 'after the expiry of three years'.

Bahlol left his capital and met him at the town of Bhatwarah.[1] Khan Jahan mediated and brought the parties to terms, after which sultan Husain came back to Etawah and halted, while sultan Bahlol returned to Delhi.

After an interval sultan Husain, in violation of this agreement, marched against sultan Bahlol who in his turn advanced from Delhi to the caravansary of Sikhara.[2] The battle raged for several days between the two parties, eventually terminating in a treaty. About this time Bibi Rāji, mother of sultan Husain, died. Kalyan Mal, son of Rai Kirat Singh,[3] Raja of Gwalior, died. Qutb Khan Lodi who had gone from Chandawar[4] to Gwalior came to offer condolence to sultan Husain. Qutb Khan, finding the former inimical towards sultan Bahlol, made him look pleasant and said, "Bahlol is one of your servants. How can he claim equality with you? I shall not rest until I have conquered for you the whole country up to Delhi". He craftily took leave of sultan Husain and going back to sultan Bahlol, said, "I have artfully contrived to escape from the clutches of sultan Husain who, I find, is bent on hostility with you. Be on your guard for the sake of your own safety."

Meanwhile sultan 'Alāuddin passed into the arms of his Maker at Badaun. Sultan Husain went away from Etawah to condole. After the mourning was over, he forcibly seized Badaun, by ousting sultan 'Alāuddin's son from it and considered such usurpation legitimate. Sultan Husain went to Sambhal from Badaun, took its *hākim*,

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1 I fail to locate it. During this crisis of Sharqi invasion, Bahlol possibly applied to sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa for assistance by deputing Shaikh Muhammad Farmuli, and Kapurchand, son of the Gwalior Raja, on an embassy to the court at Mandu. T. A. III, 348 assigns this event to 8th Sh'aban 873 AH/21st Feb. 1469.

2 M. A. رایسکهر *T. A.* 303 has Raisikhar; Raisingh in the English translation 347. *T. F.* has Sonkarah سنکره; *C. H. I.* III. identifies it with Sikhera, 25 miles east of Dehli. Sikhara in Sirhpur *prag.* Kasgang *tah.* Etah dt. might be the battle-site.

3 *T. A.* has both "Karan" and Kirat Singh, *M. T.* 310 has Kirat Singh: The name Kirti Singh कीर्तिसिंह was suggested by B. De, T. A. Eng. tr. F. N. 1. 35 Dr. Pandey has followed him in the F. A. E.

4 Chandawar, a village on the left bank of the Jamuna 3 miles south-west from Firuzabad in Agra dt. Memoirs of Babur, II 589 describes Babur's passage down the place; a *mahāl* and a fort in Akbar's reign, *Ain*. 11. 194. Famous as the battle site between Raja Jayachhandra and Muhammad Ghori.

Mubārak Khan, son of Tatār Khan prisoner and sent him away to Soron.[1]

In Zihijjah 883 AH/ Feb-March 1479 A. D.[2] he marched to Delhi, at the head of a large army including 1000 elephants and encamped at the ferry of Khwaja Khizr on the Jamuna. Sultan Bahlol who had been at Sirhind at this time, marched to Delhi on hearing this news. The two armies remained engaged in fighting and skirmishes for some time. The Sharqi army, by means of its superiority in strength and number, gained the upperhand.[3] Qutb Khan sent a person to sultan Husain saying "I am a favourite servant of Bibi Raji who treated me with great kindness during my imprisonment at Jaunpur and because of that I advise you to go back to your capital, after concluding terms with sultan Bahlol. The territory east of the Ganges should pass under your control; that on the west should belong to sultan Bahlol. Eventually Qutb Khan mediated to bring about truce which suspended hostilities. Sultan Husain, putting his trust in the treaty, commenced his march back towards Jaunpur, leaving his baggage behind. Sultan Bahlol[1] took advantage of this occasion to pursue him. He sacked and pillaged the supplies and seized some treasure and furniture loaded on pack-horses and

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1 *C. H. I.* III. 256 has identified Soron with the well-known place Saran in the present State of Bihar, which is improbable. Because Saran and Champāran were ruled by a Hindu Raja who was subjugated during sultan Sikandar's reign. Hence Saran lay outside the pale of sultan Bahlol's authority. Cunningham discovered sixteen inscriptions of the Lodi kings, in a place of the same name, 27 miles from Etah, situated on the highroad between Bareilly and Mathura 27°54 × 78°45 (*C. A. S.* I. 265) This is evidently the place referred to in the text, now reduced to obscurity, by a change in the course of the Ganges.

2 *M. T.* and *T. A.* and *T. F.* offer two different dates. *M. T.* 809, mentions 880 A. H. on p. 802 but a chronogram in the following page puts it at 884 A. H. Ranking corrects it to 888 A. H. *T. A.* and T. F. date the event in 883 A. H. in the chapter on the Lodis but vary the date to 878 A. H. in the chapter on the Sharqi sultans. C. *H. I.* III. 256 writes wrongly that Tatar Khan was sent a prisoner to Soron.

3 *T. A.* and *T. F.* offer the account of this encounter in two places, with two varying dates as stated above. The details of this campaign also vary. In the first part of both the chronicles, reference is made to Qutb Khan having mediated and brought about suspension of hostilities by a treaty and the subsequent treacherous attack by Bahlol in violation of terms. Niamatullah has incorporated this version in his account, leaving out the other described in *T. F.* lith ed. 310 and *T. A.*, B. I. III. lith. ed 283. *vide* appendix C.

elephants. Forty army officers constituting the flower of the Sharqi nobility, such as wazir Qutlugh Khan, a profoundly learned man of the age and Buddhu نائب عرض (Naib-i-'arz) deputy paymaster of the army and others like him were taken prisoner. Sultan Bahlol handed over Qutlugh Khan in chains to Qutb Khan. Sultan Husain escaped on foot ; his chief queen[1] Malikā Jahān was taken prisoner. Sultan Bahlol delegated eunuchs to make certain of her safety and sent her shortly afterwards to sultan Husain with due honour and esteem. Sultan Bahlol seized a number of *parganas* belonging to his rival, such as Kampil, Patiali, Sakit, Koil and Jalali. He posted his officers to them and took up the pursuit of sultan Husain which was unending, so that sultan Husain turned at bay near Rampanchu[2] within the Rapri area and faced his adversary. Eventually peace was agreed upon on condition that both the monarchs should remain content with their old boundaries. Relying upon this treaty, each of them returned to his respective territory.

The following year sultan Husain, instigated by his queen Malika Jahān marched against sultan Bahlol with a vast army[3] in violation of the treaty. An obstinate battle took place near the village of Sonhar[4] سونہار . Sultan Hussin was defeated again and retreated to Rapri. Sultan Bahlol advanced to Dhopamau.[5] An unlimited quantity of goods fell into Lodi hands, increasing sultan Bahlol's power and resources.

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1 C. H. I. III 231-2 mentions the Sharqi queen's name as Jalila which is apparently wrong. The word in the original Persian is حلیله meaning 'wife' (*T. A*, III 284). Through oversight Dorn translated the word خواجه سرای into a confidential servant.

2 M. A. L. U. Ms. رام سنزر *Ramsanjhu* *T. A.* 310 Aram Mahjur ارام مہجور

3 According to *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, once sultan Bahlol faced with the Sharqi army of invasion, spent a whole night in prayer at the shrine of Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki. Towards the end of the night a supernatural being appeared and handed to the sultan a stick, T. D. ff. 23-24. T. S. B. 1. 16. The medieval mind was prone to magic, and it is easy to infer the effect which such a staff produced upon the untutored Afghans who were then fighting with their backs to the wall. I cannot assign this event to a definite date.

4 *C. H. I.* III 239, identifies it with Sonha which appears to be unwarranted ; Sonhar, is a village in Etah tahsil, Etah dt. U. P. 10 miles n. e. of Sakit, Etah dt. Gaz.

5 Dhopamau in *T. A.* 310 *T. F.* 177, *M. T.* 310. *L. U.* Ms. *M. A.* writes only Dhopa. *C. H.* I. III 288, calls it *Chhibramau* situated in Farrukhabad district, *T. F.* mentions Dhopamau as marking the boundary between the kingdoms of Jaunpur and Delhi.

At this time news of Khan Jahan Lodi's death reached the sultan who appointed his son to that post under the same title. Bahlol marched to Rapri and defeated sultan Husain in another engagement. After this repulse, sultan Husain crossed the Jamuna and went back the same way.[1] During the fording of the river, some of his family were swept away for which his sorrow, distress and grief knew no bounds. In great agony and torment, he started for Gwalior, to go back to Jaunpur by a detour, but his camp was raided on the way by a body of the Bhaduriahs.[2] When he reached Gwalior, Raja Kirat Singh[3] submitted to him and behaved like a vassal. The Raja presented him with several lakhs of rupees, a hundred horses and elephants. He also placed at his disposal a body of troops who escorted him as far as Kalpi and then returned. Soon after sultan Bahlol started for Etawah in order to reduce it. Ibrāhim Khan, brother of sultan Husain, and Haibat Khan *alias* Gurg-Āndāz fortified themselves and fought for three days. Eventually they sued for peace and capitulated. Sultan Bahlol conferred it on Ibrāhim Khan Nuhani and gave a few *parganas* of this district to Rai Dādu[4] as compensation.

From this place he marched against sultan Husain with a large army and confronted him at the village of Rankanu within the Kalpi area. The battle raged for sometime between them. Meanwhile Rai Tilokchand, *hakim* of the district of Baksar,[6] came to sultan Bahlol and showed his army the way across a ford of the Ganges. They fell upon the army of sultan Husain who, unable to put up a fight, retired to

1 According to *T. A.* Husain's camp was raided at Hatkaut, the well-known headquarters of the Bhadurias.

2 A Rajput tribe, settled in Bah tahsil, Agra dt.

3 *T. A. B.* I. text writes the name Karan P. 308 and Kirat P. 311. *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, on p. 28, mentions Raja Man as the contemporary Raja of Gwalior but in a previous page, 17, he refers to his having died. The editor of the text failed to note the inconsistency. *C. H.* I. III makes a similar confusion; mention is made of Raja Man having been ruler of Gwalior in 1466 and in 1500. (C. H. I. III. 241, 255) but Kirat Singh is mentioned as the Raja in 1479 & 1489 *Vide* pp. 238, 286.

4 *T. A.* has Dandu, Dorn 'Danu'.

5 *C. H.* I. III, 238, identifies it with Raigonkhaga, 25·3X81·16.

6 Baksar—34 miles southeast of Unao town, in Raibareli district, *C. A. S.* I. XI 57-58

the kingdom of Bhātha.[1] The Raja welcomed him, and presented several lakhs of rupees, a hundred horses and elephants and escorted him at the head of his army to Jaunpur.

Sultan Bahlol, having mobilised an army, raised the standard of march for the conquest of Jaunpur. As he drew near the city, sultan Husain, unable to withstand, retreated to Bahraich. Sultan Bahlol marched in that direction and engaged him in a battle on the banks of the Rahab (Rapti). Defeat which had become a regular companion of sultan Husain met him here as well and the insiginia of royalty fell into Bahlol Lodi's hands. After this victory sultan Bahlol returned to Jaunpur and occupied it.[2] He appointed Mubārak Khan *hākim* of this place ; Qutb Khan Lodi, Khan Jahan and some other nobles in charge of Majhauli[3] and started for Badaun.

Sultan Husain, getting opportunity, marched in full force to Jaunpur upon which sultan Bahlol's officers fell back from Jaunpur to Majhauli. Having encamped here they started friendly overtures with sultan Husain and continued temporizing until Qutb Khan arrived with reinforcements. Sultan Bahlol sent his son Barbak Shah to assist them and followed him in person. On reaching the town of Haldi,[4] he received news of the death of Qutb Khan Lodi, son of Islam Khan, spent a few days there in mourning and proceeded to Jaunpur. He placed here Barbak Shah on the throne and then started for Kalpi. He assigned it to 'Azam Humayun, son of prince Khwāja Bāyazid and thereupon marched to Dholpur via Chandawar. The local Raja interviewed him, made an offer him of several maunds of gold and became his firm supporter. From here the sultan marched to Bari[5] *pargana*.

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1 Bhatha is obviously the kingdom of Bhatghora, mentioned in the *Ain*. Variant such as Thatta, Patta, Patna, occur in the different chronicles, This kingdom played a very important role during the 15th and the 16th centuries. Vide *C. A. S. I.* XIII 109—111, 164, Blochmann, *Ain* I. rev. ed. 826, 445, II 177, and the appendix to the following chapter.

2 The conquest of Jaunpur may be assigned to 888 AH/1483-4 A. D., the year in which sultan Bahlol issued coinage from Jaunpur *J. A. S. B.* 1922, *NS* 17. Khairuddin places it in 884 AH/1479 A. D.

3 Majhauli-identified with a place of the same name in Gorakhpur dist., on the left bank of the little Gandak, in 25'18X83" 58. C. *H. I.* III. 284.

4 Haldi : Situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Ghogra, *Memorirs of Babur*, II, 668 69, 675, ibid, 585.

5 Bari—Situated between Dholpur and Bayana, a well-known hunting ground visited by Babur.

Iqbal Khan, the local *hakim*, submitted to him and was enlisted among the servants of the court. He presented several maunds of gold and was confirmed by the sultan in his assignment. He then marched to Alhanpur,[1] situated within Ranthambhor, put the place to sack and having laid waste the orchards and cultivated land, returned to Delhi. Here he lived for sometime dispensing justice and equity and in ease and happiness.

When Canopus rose at the end of the rains, the sultan marched towards Gwalior. Raja Mān,[2] the local king, submitted to him, presented him with a sum of eighty lakh rupees. The sultan confirmed the Raja in possession of Gwalior and marched from here to Etawah. Here he removed Sakta singh and having conferred it on the son of Rai Dadu set out for Delhi. Owing to intense heat, he was taken ill[3] on the way and died in 894 A.H./1488 A. D. at the village of Malawali[4] lying within the area of Sakit town.

The duration of his reign was 38 years, 8 months and 8 days. The following verse was composed by a scholar to record the sultan's death :

In 894 AH (Dec. 1488-Nov. 1489) departed from this world,

Bahlol, the *Khedive*, conqueror of territories and the world-conquering ruler.

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1 Alhanpur : A *Mahal in* Bayana *sarkar*, same as Alhanpur of *T. A.* and the *Ain.* II, 274, rev. ed. 279. Curiously enough, *C. H. I.* III calls it 'Alampur on p. 284 and 'Palampur' on p. 262. It is identified with Alapur, a village lying one mile north of Jora fort in Tonwarghar tahsil of Gwalior State (*Sultanate of Delhi*, by A. L. Srivastava) Read details about this raid and Bahlol's precipitated retreat before the Malwa captain, Sher Khan, in *T. A.* III, Eng. tr. 546-47.

2 The statement about Raja Man having submitted seems to be an empty claim, in view of the contrary statement made by Niamatullah later on and Ahmad Yadgar's reference to the Raja having rebelled against sultan Bahlol (T. S. 25).

3 It is stated in the Etah district Gazetteer on the authority of Chauhan tradition that sultan Bahlol was wounded in an engagement with the Rajputs of Sakit and died there. According to tradition, one Sakat Deo founded the Chauhan power in Sakit. The Muslim occupation of this region in the 13th century is borne out by an inscription of sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban in 684 AH/1285 A. D. Etah. Dt. Gaz.

4 The actual place where sultan Bahlol died has been a subject of controversy owing to the numerous variants of the place-name occurring in the different chronicles. *T. A.* writes Talawal *T. F.* Bhadauli, *T.* D. Jalali, *T. S.* 26 says that the place was at a distance of 40 kos from Delhi, *M. T.* near Sakit, *M. A.* Ms. 100 and 102 have Malawali but L. U. Ms. misspels the word as 'palawali. There is a village with the identical name on the highway from Etah to Patiali, (N. W. P. Dt. Gaz XII) situate at a distance of 15 miles from Sakit. Dr. H. Halim has made a very painstaking research to settle the controversial point in *I. I. H.* 1968. I concur with him in his view.

Note on sultan Bahlol's character as sketched in the *Tārikh-i-Dāudi*

Sultan Bahlol had won the title of Ghāzi. He was a defender of the faith, an emblem of bravery and a pattern of charity. He was punctilious in observing the laws of the canon in every matter. He would never take up any work which was inconsistent with the faith. He spent most of his time in the company of theologians and in the gatherings of religious mendicants. He deemed it a dutv to enquire into the circumstances of the needy and never turned away a beggar. He recited the five daily prayers and was very zealous in dispensing justice and equity. He personally listened to the complaints of the people and did not depend on ministers.

Sultan Bahlol was a just, wise, efficient, harmless and beneficent monarch and a cherisher of ryots. He distributed among the soldiers whatever came into his possession, — goods, equipment or a new *pargana* and did not set apart anything for himself. He was a simple and unostentatious king with an open mind. When he took his meals, he had the guard removed from the gate-way and offered admittance to everybody who came to share it with him. He never sat on the throne in the midst of an assembly and forbade the courtiers to remain standing, nor did he ascend the throne when he granted public audience, and in the *farmans* issued to the nobles he styled himself *Masnad-i-Ala.* If any nobleman was offended with him, he tried his best to please him. He would go to his house and having taken off his sword from the waist-belt, lay it before him, and apologise saying, "If you do not think me fit, you should appoint somebody in my place and offer me some other assignment." He kept up a bond of fraternity with the entire body of noblemen and soldiers, and paid visits to them, whenever they fell ill.

Previous to his reign, it was the practice (among the Afghans) in Delhi, to offer cold drink, betel-leaf, *Kharhan* and sugar on the third day (following the death of an Afghan). Sultan Bahlol abolished this practice and introduced that of offering rose and rosewater, saying that the old custom was beyond the means of an Afghan. Because if an Afghan of small means died, a hundred thousand clansmen would

come and call upon him. How could the poor man meet his obligations and make them happy ?

He was so brave that he would dismount from his horse at the sight of the enemy and execute two genuflexions for the good of Islam and the Muslims and acknowledge his own humility. From the time of his accession he was not overcome by any adversary nor was he defeated in any battle.

It is said that in the week of his accession to the throne, he was present at the Friday congregational prayer when Mullah Qadan, a distinguished nobleman of the city (Delhi), mounted the pulpit in order to recite the *Khutba* and said as he stepped down from it,

> "The Afghans are a strange people. I do not know if their leader is an anti-Christ or whether the Prince of darkness will be born among them in future. In their dialect they speak of their mother as "mur, brother as 'rur', village as 'shur', soldiers as 'tur' and deaf as 'nur'. As he spoke these words, sultan Bahlol hid his face behind his kerchief and said with a smile, "you have said quite enough ; we are servants of God too."

A. Note on Bahlol's tactics employed in the war with the Sharqis, as found in the Persian annals.

Extract from the W. M. B. M. Ms. Add 11, 633 on the Sharqi attack on Delhi in 1452 A. D.

Sultan Bahlol's prosperity was on the increase when sultan Mahmud Sharqi marched from Jaunpur to Delhi and laid siege to the capital. Sultan Bahlol was at this time in Sirhind; while Bibi Matto, the begam of Islām Khan, and the entire Afghan soldiery had shut themselves inside the citadel. The begam clad the ladies in the men's robe and sent them to the top of the bastions. In this way the fort was supervised and managed. All the Afghans inside the fort kept up a hail of arrows; the musketeers were also active. Shah Sikandar Sarwani, son-in-law of Khan Jahan Lodi, was a skilled archer who could shoot arrows for a great distance. He inscribed his own name in letters of gold on the arrows. Once the water carrier of sultan Mahmud Sharqi was carrying water from a well near the battlement. Shāh Sikandar shot three to four arrows from the top of the battlement with so much force that they passed clean through the two sacks on the bullock into the earth.[1] The water-carrier took away the arrow to the sultan and related the whole story. Every one who was present in the assembly was confounded and from that time forward nobody went near the walls of the fort.

Owing to delay and loss of time in Bahlol's coming back, the leading persons of Delhi felt the need of concluding terms. Mubārak Khan Lodi, hakim of Sambhal, who had accompanied sultan Mahmud Lodi proposed terms and conditions in the interest of Muslim fellowship. The city was to be delivered into his hands; while sultan Bahlol's troops were to leave the fort with all their baggage. In compliance with this stipulation Sayyid Shamsuddin came out of the fort with the keys to Mubarak Khan Lodi and sought for a personal interview.

1 This is an illustration of the Afghan skill in archery. It would be futile to speculate whether the Afghans used the long-bow or the cross-bow. The long-bow in Europe was a very effective weapon. [It was about 5ft. and its shaft, a cloth-yard long. Shot by a Welsh archer, a shaft had penetrated an oak-door (at Abergavenny in 1182), 4 in. thick and the head stood out a hand's breadth on the inner side,] *E. B.* 2, 11th ed, 868.

When he failed to confer with him in secrecy, he said to Mubarak Khan, "How are you related to the sultan." Mubarak Khan replied, "He is my master, while I am his servant." The Sayyid again said, "What is your relationship with sultan Bahlol ?" "We are brethren" ; rejoined Mubarak Khan. The Sayyid again asked "How would you regard his mother and sisters". He replied "They are, to all intents and purposes, as good as my own mother and sisters." The Sayyid then brought the keys from beneath his armpit and placing it before him, said, "Guard your mother's and sisters' honour veiled inside the curtain or disgrace them." The Khan said, "What can I do ? If the sultan (Bahlol) had arrived at this moment, I could have contrived some means of succour. The Sayyid said, "I am expectantly turning my eyes towards the road by which Bahlol is to come. I wish the people shut up inside the fort could get an interval of rest. Mubarak Khan said, "If such is your intention, keep the keys with you and be pleased to go back. I shall not fail to do what I can." He rose, went to the sultan and said "They had brought me the keys of the fort. As there is a strong report of sultan Bahlol's coming, I did not condescend to accept the keys. When we knock him out, the whole kingdom will belong to us." Sultan Mahmud said, "Then what are we to do." "Depute me and Fath Khan Harawi to fight him, while you hold firmly to the place where you are," said the Khan. The sultan acted accordingly. As these two captains reached Narila, they received the report that sultan Bahlol was coming ; and they halted at the very place. Sultan Bahlol had arrived with 7000 men, while they had in their train 30,000. As these two armies faced each other, the Afghans took up their bows and commenced shooting. Mubarak Khan could not hold the ground with the troops and Fath Khan was shot down by an arrow. Sultan Mahmud's army sustained defeat and fell back on the sultan's camp. On the following day the people who had been keeping watch from the top of the fort said that the troops had returned in disgrace. The news reached Bibi Matto who ordered the facts to be ascertained correctly. After much enquiry and investigation, the drum was ordered to be beaten and the band to be played. As this music reached sultan

Mahmud's ears, he enquired why the drum was sounding. He was told news had arrived in the fort that his troops had been beaten. The sultan began to brood over this matter, when Mubarak Khan of Sambhal arrived and reported to him the news of Fath Khan's death and the defeat of his army.

B. Extract from the *Tarikh-i-Shāhi*, B. I. Series

Sultan Husain came to the neighbourhood of Kalpi with a large army. Barbak Shāh engaged him in battle two to three times and being eventually defeated surrendered to him his equipment and furniture. The news reached Sultan Bahlol. He assembled a large army from different places and advanced to fight the enemy. As he reached the vicinity of Kalpi, sultan Husain sent his nephew Jalal khan with a body of 30,000 efficient cavalry. Sultan (Bahlol) ordered Qutb Khan, Ahmad Khan and Daulat Khan to cross the Ganges; of them 15,000 horsemen were to be kept in ambush, and Daulat Khan was to face the enemy with a body of 5000 horsemen who were instructed to retreat in an orderly way as sultan Husain launched the offensive and decoy him to the spot where Qutb Khan lay in ambush. In this way the enemy force was to be wedged in between. The assailant forces were to close the road from both sides and launch a most determined attack. They complied with sultan Bahlol's order and massacred a large body of sultan Husain's troops. Jalal Khan himself was killed. Thirty elephants as large as hillocks, horses and a large booty fell into the sultan's hands.

C. Extract from the *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, describing Bahlol's victory over the Sharqi king Husain Shah.

Bahlol's dazzling victory in 1478-79 has not yet been accounted for. The accounts given in T. F. and T. A. leave no doubt that it was due to Bahlol's generalship. Sultan Husain had an overwhelming superiority in numercial strength ; his army was estimated at 1,40,000 horse and foot and 1,400 elephants. Bahlol, overawed by such a force, agreed to resign all his territories to sultan Husain, excepting Delhi and its neighbourhood, extending to a perimeter of 18 miles. Bahlol thus signed his death-warrant with his own hand, but its effect was just the reverse of what had been anticipated. These terms inspired sultan Husain with overweening confidence and thereby indirectly paved the way for his downfall, He became negligent in his movement and the disposition of his troops and allowed the initiative in attack to pass from his hands into those of Bahlol.

The Lodi king had only a body of 18,000 troops under him at this time. The vassal chiefs were wavering in allegiance and do not appear to have been keen to reinforce him. Bahlol lined this tiny force on the other side of the Jamuna and bided time for the Sharqi offensive. As it was delayed, he sprang a sudden attack on the enemy. He chose the hour with the true instinct of a general. The bulk of the army under their leaders had gone out pillaging and the remaining troops were overcome with slackness or langour during the midday hours of the summer, when Bahlol fell like a thunderbolt upon the Sharqi camp and won a signal victory with hardly any fighting. Muhammad Qasim Ferishta thus describes the situation !

"In the summer season the king of Delhi plunged his troops into the river and led them across the ford. In spite of the spies' report, sultan Husain could not credit this news, due to excess of haughtiness and pride. Hence the Delhi army after fording the river set to plundering the camp ; the army-captains and soldiers who had been utterly negligent, owing to the king's improvidence, were at their wits' end ; both high and low thought of fleeing. Sultan Husain being helpless took to flight. *T. F.* lith. ed. 310.

بعد از انکه شوکت واستقلال او از حد گذشت باغوای حلیله خود که دختر سلطان علاء الدین بن محمد شاه بن فرید شاه بن مبارک شاه بود - در سنه ثمان و سبعین و ثمانمائه عزیمت تسخیر دهلی کرده بایك الك و چهل هزار سوار و یکهزار و چهار صد فیل متوجه انصوب شد و بادشاه بهلول لودی رسولی نزد سلطان محمود خلجی فرستاده پیغام داد که درین وقت اگر انحضرت بقصد امداد تشریف فرمایند قلعه بیانه تعلق بایشان خواهد داشت اما هنوز از شادی اباد مندو جواب نرسیده بود که شاه حسین شاه شرقی حوالی دهلی را بالتمام متصرف شد و بادشاه بهلول لودی از عجز و زاری در امده پیغام فرستاد که بلاد دهلی تعلق بانحضرت دارد - اگر اصل دهلی تاهیزده کروهی بمن گذارند در سلك نوکران در امده بداروغگی ان بلده قیام حواهم نمود و چون شاه از غایت غرور و تکبر ملتمس او را بسمع قبول اصغا نفرموده بادشاه بهلول لودی ناچار گشته اعتماد بر لطف و عون کارساز حقیقی کرده باهیزده هزار سوار افغان از دهلی بر امده کنار اب روبروی سلطان حسین شاه شرقی نشست و چون اب در میانه حائل بود چند گاه بحرب پرداختند - درین اثنا سرداران بزرگ حسین شاه شرقی بتاخت ولایت رفتند - بادشاه دهلی فرصت غنیمت دانسته در عین موسم تابستان از جائکه پایاب بود اسپان در اب انداخت و هرچند منهیان این خبر به شاه حسین شاه رسانیدند از کمال نخوت و غرور قبول انمعنی نمی نمود - تا انکه مردم دهلی از اب گذشته تباراج اردوے او مشغول شدند و اراوا سپاه از غایت بی شعوری بادشاه چون نهایت غفلت بودند سراسیمه گشته کوچک و بزرگ در اندیشه فرار شدند و سلطان حسین بمطلج روی بگریز نهاده ملکه جهان و سائر اهل حرم گرفتار شدند - (تاریخ فرشته ۳۱۰)

Note on Sultan Bahlol's relation with the Rajput chiefs of the middle Do-ab.

The struggle for ascendancy that ensued at the end of the 14th century between the sultans of Delhi and Jaunpur developed into a titanic conflict after the assumption of royalty by the Afghans. It is hardly realised that this rivalry between the two rival monarchies was a sort of Hundred Years War ushering in political changes, and modification in the social and religious outlook of the people. The effacement of the Rajput dynasties which had raised their heads in the last quarter of the 14th century in the middle and lower *Do-ab* was primarily the work of Bahlol, achieved by his generalship and fraternisation with the Afghans. Much of the fire of Dr. R. P. Tripathi's criticism[1] against Bahlol's Afghano-phile policy is therefore perhaps misdirected.

As previously stated in the introduction, Bahlol was a genius. With very limited resources and in the face of universal dislike of the Afghans for their ruggedness and coarseness of habits and speech, Bahlol destroyed the overpowering might of the Sharqis who enclosed within the fold of their territory practically the whole of the Gangetic valley. It was a task which may be paralleled with the Ottoman seizure of Constantinople. Bahlol's work captured the imagination of his contemporaries which is borne out by the composition of a heroic poem (masnawi) on the Lodi-Sharqi war by Shaikh Firuz, grandfather of Shaikh Rizqullah.[2]

In the interest of the general reader, a study of Bahlol's relation with the Rajput princes of the middle Do-ab is reconstructed from the scanty data available in chronicles and sketched here. It is well-known that the Rajputs settled in the region comprising the Etah, Farrukhabad, Mainpuri and Etawah districts formed the backbone of resistance to the Turki sultans from the 13th century onwards. Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban established Afghan colonists among the irrepressible Rajputs of Kampil, Bhojpur and Patiali. Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq harried the whole of the middle Do-ab and treated the population of the region with unrelenting severity, yet there

1 R. P. Tripathi—Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, 11.

2 Elliot, IV, 585.

was a renewed flare-up of Rajput opposition, at the end of sultan Firuz's reign. It glowed intermittently for half a century until under the last of the Sayyids several Rajput chiefs, Rai Pratap of Bhongaon, Rai Karan of Shamsabad, Rai Dadu and Sakta Singh of Etawah disputed the possession of the middle Do-ab.

About the middle of the 15th century Rai Pratap, mentioned as the Pratap-Rudra in the Chauhan genealogy, built up a tiny principality embracing portions of Mainpuri, Farrukhabad and Etah districts. It is not known whether Birbhan mentioned by Yahiya as the chief of Bhongaon in 1391 A. D. belonged to the same House; for Muhammad Qasim Ferishta calls him a Bais Rajput.[1] Pratap was a notable peer under sultan Alauddin Alam Shah and manouvered to gain ascendancy at the Delhi court. At his advice the Sayyid king ordered the arrest of Hamid Khan and sent him to prison, but when the latter was rescued by his brothers, he called in to his aid Bahlol Khan. Political power which always passes from the hands of the diplomatist into those of the soldier slid once more under the control of a warrior.

1. *Rai Pratap of Bhongaon*

After Bahlol assumed the crown, Rai Pratap endeavoured to maintain the balance of power between the rival monarchs of Delhi and Jaunpur. His alliance was, therefore, courted by Bahlol who restored to him his standard and kettledrum, lost previously in an engagement with Dariya Khan Lodi of Sambhal. The assassination of his son Narsingh by Qutb Khan, a partisan of Bahlol, induced him to align himself with sultan Husain Sharqi and turn the scales in his favour. For a time Husain carried everything before him, but when the tide turned, Rai Pratap appears to have been swept off the political stage.

The long period of Afghan rule, however, failed to curb the Chauhans. When after the battle of Kanauj in May 1540,

1 Briggs', Eng. tr. *T. F.* I. 476

the Mughal army leaders were in flight across Bhongaon, the Rajputs stood up in arms and intercepted their passage. "Nearly 3000 horse and foot of undisciplined rogues", says Abul Fazl "gathered togther, and in the fighting that ensued, a large number of them were slaughtered."[1]

2. *Rai Karan of Shamsabad*

Shamsabad, situated on the Burhganga has been another stronghold from which the Hindus held off the Turks by fighting with their backs to the wall. Standing on the highway from Delhi to Kanauj, Shamsabad had felt the weight of Muslim armies across the centuries. Yet it was neither subdued nor cowed.

About 1422, the Panwar Rajputs who were settled here rose in arms against the authority of sultan Mubārak Shāh who destroyed the fort and levelled it with the ground.[2] A Muslim garrison established at Kampila kept the Rajputs of this place in awe of the central government. When during 'Alāuddin 'Ālam Shah's reign, the Sharqis gained predominance, they took this strategic outpost under their control by supplanting the Rajput chief Karan Rai, by their nominee Juna Khan. About 1455 A. D. in accordance with the treaty of Etawah, the Sharqi King Mahmud Shah offered to deliver Shamsabad into the hands of sultan Bahlol ; and after a show-down by Bahlol, Rai Karan was reinstated at Shamsabad. The expulsion of Juna Khan by force of arms offended the Sharqi king who challenged Bahlol to another battle in which he was defeated. Rai Karan again stood up in arms against the Sharqi king, sultan Muhammad, but was obliged to vacate the fort. Soon after there was a turn in the political kaleidoscope. After the accession of sultan Husain to the Sharqi throne, Bahlol wrested away Shamsabad from the control of the Jaunpur king and installed Karan Rai again in possession of the place. At the end of the sixties, the tempo of the Lodi-Sharqi war

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1 *A. N.* B. 1. I, 167

2 *M. T.* B. 1. I. 291

mounted. It is not unlikely that Rai Karan[1] was caught up in the storm and perished in defending the cause of his Afghan ally. The chronicles offer no clue to his eventual fate.

3. *Rai Dādu of Etawah*

The downfall of the Garhwars established the alien Turks in the heart of Aryavarta, and Kanauj became one of the bastions of their strength in Upper India. The local Rajputs were driven by their pressure to settle down in contiguous territories where they were comparatively safe from the threat of Turkish attack.

Etawah therefore became the home of different Rajput clans, such as the Chauhans and Sengars, Bhadurias and Parihars, Gaurs and Jadons, Bargujars and Rathors. Of them the Rathors form a very small minority at present, but at the close of the 14th century a chief Sarvadharan mentioned by Yahiya as سرور ادھرن and by Ferishta as سردادند rose to power in this district and in concert with other Rajput leaders challenged the authority of sultan Muhammad Shah, son of Firuz Shah. His power seems to have been short-lived: for early in the 15th century Etawah was incorporated into the growing kingdom of the Sharqis. Until 1480-1 the Jaunpur authority over this district was undisturbed. But sultan Husain's successive reverses following his crushing defeat at Sonhār, shook his authority all over his kingdom and about 1482 Ibrahim Khan, brother of sultan Husain, was forced to capitulate to the Lodi sultan and vacate the fort of Etawah.

This political change led to the restoration presumably of the old Rathor dynasty to considerable power in Etawah. The chroniclers refer to one Rai Dadu having been vested with a number of *parganas*, while the rest of the district was entrusted

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1 The editor of the Farrukhabad district Gazetteer mentions Rai Karan as the Rathor Raja. I do not find any authority in support of this statement. On the other hand, Yahiya bin Ahmad mentions Shamsabad as having been the home of the Panwars in 1422 A. D.

to Ibrahim Khan Nuhāni. Rai Dadu remains a shadowy figure ; for hardly anything is known about him.

Sakta Singh — There is a vague reference to this Raja having been put in possession of a tract of territory in Etawah in 1488. He was ejected by sultan Bahlol who conferred this territory on a son of Rai Dādu.

4. *The Rajputs of Sakit*

Sakit, situated fifteen miles west of Patiali and twenty miles due east of Jalesar, was a Chauhan stronghold, founded according to tradition, by Raja Sakat Deo in the 13th century. In 1414 A. D. this place, mentioned wrongly as سکینہ in the text and Sakina in the English translation of *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* was crossed by the royal army in their march and countermarch to Shamsabad-Khor. It is not known if the Hindu rule was resurrected here, during the political confusion that ensued after the downfall of the Tughlaqs.

Abul Fazl offers a very interesting glimpse into the character of the inhabitants of this place which is reproduced here briefly :

"The people inhabiting the villages round Sakit, [especially eight villages of that *pargana* called Athgarh] stood unrivalled for their rebellious spirit and ungratefulness ; the eye of the age never saw rebels, thieves, and murderers like them. They were not only themselves disorderly, but keep the villages and their inhabitants in a state of disorder and they live a bold sort of life which only fools call bravery."

The eminent chronicler, a spokesman of the Mughals, gives also an account of emperor Akbar's exciting encounter with the Rajputs at this place in 1562, which may be read in the second volume of Akbar Nama, translated by Beveridge, pages 253-255.

D. A short note on sultan Bahlol's relation with the Rana of Udaipur and the alleged Raja of Ujjain.

Tarikh-i-Shahi otherwise known as *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghina* is the only chronicle which refers to Bahlol's campaign against the Rana of Chitor. This account, though unsupported by any other Persian annal, merits consideration. The account[1] is as follows : "The sultan, by forced marches, reached Ajmir and deputed a picked force to hold it. The Rana's nephew Chhatrasāl was posted at Udaipur with a force of 10,000 cavalry. Qutb Khan marched there and engaged the rascally *kafirs* کفار تیرہ کردار. In the first clash of arms the sultan's army was repulsed and many of his soldiers fell in the field. But eventually Quth Khan and Khan Khanan Farmuli put up a most violent fighting and snatched victory from the jaws of defeat. Chhatrasal was killed in action along with a large body of *kafirs*. Five to six elephants, forty horses, and a large booty fell into the hands of sultan's army and the Rana's troops were defeated. The Rana concluded a treaty and in accordance with its terms, had the *Khutba* read in sultan's name in Udaipur. Afterwards the sultan marched towards Delhi *via* Nimkhar which he laid waste. After returning to the capital he stayed here sometime and then started for Lahore."

Doubts have been raised as to the authenticity of this compaign,[2] a most adventurous enterprise, on account of the reference to Udaipur which was built by Rana Udai Singh at a later age. There are, however, two facts which would perhaps overrule such an objection.

Firstly, Col. Todd refers to the intervention of a sultan of Delhi on behalf of Udai Singh, better Known as Uda, the parricide (who murdered his father Rana Kumbha) and seized the throne of Mewar in 1468. Uda roused a general indignation by this atrocious deed and was obliged to yield the throne to his younger brother, Raimalla, and become a fugitive at the Delhi court. The reigning king, sultan Bahlol deputed an army under Qutb Khan and Khan Khanan Farmuli to second Rana Uda. Todd based his account on bardic chronicle.

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1 T. S. B. 1. 19-20.

2 Udaipur Rajya Ka Itihasa, f. n. 1. 669.

which corroborated by the Persian annal, would perhaps refute Ojha's objection[1] to the authenticity of this fact and establish the event of Lodi intervention on behalf of Rana Udai Singh as a historical fact.

(ii) *Bahlol's relation with the Raja of Ujjain*

Bahlol is credited with having led an expedition to Malwa and defeated the Raja of Ujjain.[2] This statement again is made on the authority of Ahmad Yadgar, but the Persian passage which is as follows does not admit of this meaning.

بعد ان بطرف مالوه در حرکت آمد که راجه مان در شهر با بعضی مردم سر از متابعت سلطان بهلول برآورده بود ـ و رای سارنگ نیز قدم در راه نافرمانی نهاده بود ـ

"Afterwards the sultan marched towards Malwa because Raja Mān supported by certain persons (nobleman) in the city (capital) had turned his head away from allegiance and Rai Sārang too had set his feet on the path of disloyalty." . . . .

چون آن کفره پای در طریق بغی نهاده بود سر خود را از تیغ غازیان اسلام در دامن خود [3]بافته ـ رشته در گلو انداخته در رکاب عالی روان گردید ـ

"Here the sultan hoisted his standard towards Ujjain. As this unbeliever had set his feet on the path of rebellion, he was cowed down by the fear of the Muslim warriors' swords and having put the collar round his neck, started for the royal stirrups."

No clue is offered to the identity of the Hindu king who marched to offer allegiance to Bahlol. It is a bombast introduced to add glamour to the sultan's name. Ujjain had become an important seat of the Malwa sultans and the Hindu rule had been obliterated long ago. The account of sultan

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1 G. H. Ojha says :

[illegible] दिल्ली के सुल्तान का नाम नहीं दिया और यह सारा कथन भाटों की ख्यातों से ...या हुआ होने से विश्वासनीय नहीं है ।

2 Dr A. B. Pandey — The First Afghan Empire in India, 94

3 I amend the text here by substituting بافته for یافته in the text.

Bahlol's conquest in Malwa, as hinted in the above passage is a myth. Niamatullah as well as Nizamuddin Ahmad refer to sultan Bahlol's raid into Malwa territory about 1488 A.D. and of his having carried fire and sword through Alhanpur. Nizamuddin, however, states in the chapter on the Malwa sultans that Bahlol's campaign in Malwa ended in an ignominious retreat. When Bahlol's raid was reported to sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji, he deputed Sher Khan, son of Muzaffar Khan, governor of Chanderi, to an expedition against the Afghan King. Bahlol could not put up a challenge and retreated across Bayana to Delhi before the Malwa captain Sher Khan.[1]

E. Bahlol's relation with the kings of Multan and Sind.

Multan was an integral part of the Delhi empire under the sultanate, but when the central government dissolved after the invasion of Timurlane in 1398, disorder prevailed all over the country. Khizr Khan, the Sayyid, was appointed governor of Multan by Timur, but he was expelled from it by Sarang Khan, ruler of Dipalpur and Lahore. During the confusion of the break-up of the Sayyid power, the inhabitants of Multan, harried by the Mughals, elected Shaikh Yusuf Zakariah Quraishi, a descendent of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariah, ruler of the country, to protect it from the Mughal raids. Shaikh Yusuf was overthrown by a *coup d'état* organised by Rai Sehar Langah who assumed the government of Multan under the title of sultan Qutbuddin. After his expulsion, Shaikh Yusuf went away to Delhi and placed himself under the protection of sultan Bahlol. He was received with great courtesy by the sultan who gave his daughter in marriage to the shaikh's son, shaikh Abdullah.

Meanwhile the Langahs established themselves firmly in Multan. Sultan Qutbuddin's son Husain was an energetic ruler who extended his authority across Shorkot, and Chiniot, to Dhankot. Sultan Bahlol took advantage of sultan Husain's

1 T. A. B. I. III. 862

absence to Dhankot to depute an army for the conquest of Multan under Tatar Khan Lodi and his son Barbak shah. Sultan Husain, however, returned to his capital by the time the Lodi army had reached Multan. He engaged them without loss of time and won a signal victory. It is stated by Nizamuddin Ahmad that the Multani army, horse and foot, shot simultaneously 12000 arrows from their bows, and put their enemy to rout by three successive showers of arrows.[1] Thus Multan and the west Panjab west of the Chenab continued to acknowledge the Langah sway.

Ahmad Yadgar has incorporated in his chronicle a very romantic account of Khwaja Bayazid's expedition to Sind, at the instance of the Multan rulers. Unable to check the aggression of one Ahmad Khan Bhatti, a chief (صاحب جاه) of Sind, the ruler of Multan had implored the assistance of the Delhi sultan. Khwaja Bayazid, the sultan's son and nominee, overcame Naurang Khan, a lieutenant of Ahmad Khan, but was eventually defeated by Naurang's mistress attired in men's clothing. It is only after Bayazid was reinforced that he could turn the table upon his enemy.

This Lodi expedition to Sind after Bahlols' assumption of royalty is refuted by the ascendancy of the Sammas in Sind and of the Langahs in Multan. This Ahmad Khan Bhatti is not referred to in any other chronicle. He is also described not as the king of Sind but as stated before (صاحب جاه), a considerable chieftain grown to such an eminence that apprehensions were entertained of his raid into the Panjab.

عرضه داشت او رسید که احمد خان دیهای ملتان را نهب و تاراج سازند -

As there is no reference to such a chief in any other chronicle, it would be idle to speculate the region where he might have won such an ascendancy. There is however not a scrap of evidence to support the fact of Lodi rule over Multan, Sind and the west Panjab. The evidence adduced in F. A. E. is entirely misplaced ; because the patron of the work *Ananga-Rag* was Ahmad Khan *Lodi's* son, Lad khan, and not Ahmad Khan *Bhatti*.

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1 *T. A.* B. I. III. 527-28

A note on sultan Bahlol's Islamism and the level of contemporary Indo-Afghan culture, as sketched in the *W*. M. B. M. Ms. Add. 11,633

a. There was a student of stunted growth, with red and white [spots]. The sultan laughed and said, "Oh mulla *Pindalu*[1] پنڈ الو, come here." The student retorted by saying, "You have become a *kafir* on two counts. Affirm your faith anew. Firstly, you have scoffed at learning and theologians and are a misbeliever. Secondly, you have mocked a being created by God, Merciful and Almighty and have brought the creator into disdain by your statement. The sultan at once recanted, asked forgiveness of God and offered apology.

b. Once the sultan had come out of his privy and was engaged in abstersion with a clod of earth so that any trace of urine might be wiped out and he be freed of impurity.[2] Just at this moment a mullah named Tughluq came up to him. The sultan was stepping forward to perform minor ablution (wuḍu), The mulla fancied that the sultan was making his way in to evade him. So he quickned his pace and taking hold of his arm, pulled it towards himself. At this the loin-cloth of the sultan came undone ; he instantly sat on the ground, covered himself and said, "You impudent fellow ! what have you done !" "I have come in God's name and you are evading me," replied the mulla. The sultan said, "I was urgently retiring" "Is there anything more urgent than the call of faith," said the mulla. The sultan said, "Wait a moment until I come back. I shall do whatever you say." The mulla said "The good thing should be done without delay." The sultan said "What kind of good is it ?" "I have brought this deserving person with me so that you might grant him a stipend" replied the mulla. The sultan at once assigned an appropriate sum to that man and dismissed him.

1 Pindalu—I cannot make out its meaning which according to Steingass, was the fruit of Trewia Nudiflora, (Linn) and according to others Cocculus Cordifolia. It is used here as a term of reproach.

2 For details about the Muslim rites of purification, the reader may profitably turn to Qanun ; V. 7, op. cit. 1.242, E. R. E. X. pp. 496-497. G. A. Herklot's *Islam in India*, edited by Crooke. 126-27.

c. The sultan always offered prayer in congregation. On the day of action, he used to dismount, as his glance fell upon the opposing army, prayed for divine pleasure,[1] in the interest of Muslim good and welfare and expressed his helplessness and humility by a face of utter dejection and distress. Afterwards he mounted again. The Persian text is as follows ;

دیگر طالب علمی بود کوتاه قد و سرخ و سفید گفت ملا پند الو بیا ـ او گفت بدوجه کافر شدی ـ به تجدید ایمان تازه کن ـ وجه اول آنکه من ایمن العام والعلماء فقد کفر ـ دگر آنکه بر آفرینش حق سبحانه و تعالی تسخر کردی ـ در معنی اهانت آفریدگار از توصادر و وارد گردید ـ در حال توبه واستغفار نمود ـ و عزر خواست ـ

روزے از طهارت خانه بیرون آمده بود و کلوخے گرفته استنجا می‌کرد ـ اگر قطره مانده باشد فرود آید و از ان پاک گردد ـ درحین مردے ملا تعلق نام رسیده آمد ـ ایشان متوجه وضو گردیدند ـ ملا دانست از من محترز شده درون می رود ـ تیزتر خودرا به سلطان رسانید و بازوے بادشاه گرفت و بطرف خود کشید ـ چنانکه لنگ سلطان واشد ـ فی الفور برزمین نشست و خود را پوشید و گفت اے ملا تا ترس این چه کردی ـ گفت من محض از براے خدا می آیم و تو از من اهتراز میکنی ـ فرمود من جهت امر ضرور می رفتم گفت از کار دین چه ضرور تراست ـ فرمود نفسی توقف کن تابیآیم و هرچه گوئی آن کنم ـ گفت الخیر لدیوخر ـ فرمود بگو این چه قسم خیراست گفت این مستحق را همراه آورده ام تا جهت او ادرارے مقرر فرمائی ـ همانذم براے آن شخص کفافی معین و مقرر فرمود و وداع نمود ـ

پنج وقت نماز جماعت می کرد و روز جنگ چون نظر سلطان برافواج مخالف می افتاد از اسپ فرور می آمد و نماز استخاره می گزارد و خیر و بهبود مسلمانان و اسلام در میخواست و عجز و زاری از روئی کمال شکستگی و بیچارگی می نمود ـ آنگاه سوار می شد ـ

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1. *Namaz-i-Istikhara* (نماز استخاره) means here the augury taken by writing on a slip of paper "do it" on another "do it not" and drawing after prayer one of them blind-folded from under the prayer-carpet where they had been hidden, *Steingass*, 51.

Note on sultan Bahlol's policy towards his Afghan tribesmen from the *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*.

Abbas Khan Sarwani, author of the *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* introduces his narrative by stating the circumstance under which his hero's grandfather Ibrahim Khan migrated from Afghanistan to India. This account reveals that it was Bahlol's policy to build up his power on the support of his tribesmen and is as follows :

"When the sultanate of Delhi passed into the hands of sultan Bahlol, belonging to the Sahu-Khail clan of the Afghan tribe, there were many persons in the kingdom of Hind who possessed the right of having coinage struck and the *Khutba* read in their names . . . . . So long as sultan Bahlol remained within the great city of Delhi, no one dared to place his feet on the path of hostility. Rai Sihar Langah of Ābari[1] ejected Shaikh Yusuf from the city of Multan and made himself master of that principality under the title of sultan Qutbuddin. Shaikh Yusuf came to the sultan's court at Delhi for aid. Sultan Bahlol marched with his war-like troops towards Multan in the company of Shaikh Yusuf, (when) sultan Mahmud, king of Jaunpur, advanced and laid siege to the city of Delhi. Sultan Bahlol was in the vicinity of Dipalpur when he received the distracting news of the siege of Delhi. He said to his emirs and high officers. "The kingdom of Hindustan is extensive and rich ; and none of the kings command any tribal following. I have many kinsmen in my country who are renowned for their qualities of valour and prowess, and distinguished for their hardihood and fighting spirit. They are hard-pressed for a bare livelihood in their own country. If they come over to Hindustan, they would be rescued from the indignity of indigence and I shall win ascendancy over my enemies and rebels and gain possession of the kingdom of Hindustan. The emirs and high officers said, "All that has occurred in the luminous tablet of the mind of the world conquering king is consistent with welfare and the token of the overflow of His Majesty's generosity and kindness towards the clan and the tribe ; otherwise his fortune, good luck, following, soldiers and retinue are in such abundance that he

1 T. S. S., Patna copy, has ابری

need not count upon others' assistance." Expediency however, demands that His Majesty should send letters to the leaders of the clans in the country of Roh saying, "God Almighty has bestowed sovereignty over the kingdom of Delhi on the Afghans. The sultans of Hindustan, however, want to expel them from the country. To defend the honour of women is an obligatory task. Hindustan is a kingdom that is vast, wealthy and overflows with excellent things. If my dear friends are pleased to come down to this country, I shall have only the name of king ; while each kingdom and territory that has been conquered and will pass under our control will be shared by us as between brothers. At this moment sultan Mahmud, *hakim* of Jaunpur, has laid siege to the city of Delhi with a large following and innumerable zamindars. The families and dependants of the Afghans are here in this city and I wish you, dear friends, to come over to this country to reinforce me with a large force. This is the hour for assistance. Forsooth you should hasten to Hindustan once at least for the sake of your good name and take revenge upon sultan Mahmud. When the friends of Hindustan will find you going back honourably they will be happy to see your prosperity and will never proceed on the journey back to their homes and increase the rank of the royal army ; and the kingdom of Hindustan will be brought under the sway of His Majesty's servants."

Sultan Bahlol approved of this idea and sent letters to the leaders of the different Afghan clans. On receipt of the *farmans*, the Afghans of Roh, swarmed as was their practice, like ants and locusts and came to join the sultan. Fath Khan Harawi was the commander-in-chief and had a large force and elephants, as large as hillocks in his train. The Afghans overthrew his army in the twinkling of an eye and levelled them on the black soil. When the news of Fath Khan Harawi's death reached sultan Mahmud who had beleagured the city of Delhi, he took to flight without a battle. Kalu Khan, leader of the Mahmud-Khail subdivision میر محمد خیل of the Sahu-Khail clan of Balot از قبیله ساهو خیل بلوتی was wounded in this engagement. Sultan Bahlol sent him cash money as gift. He declined it saying, "Did I come to sell my wounds"

and all the reputed chiefs begged to go back. The sultan long expostulated asking them to stay in this country. They said "We have come as auxiliaries to this country, for the sake of the honour and dignity of our women-folk. May your Majesty bid us leave; we shall come back again." Sultan Bahlol presented the chief of each clan so much cash money, stuff and valuables of various kinds as was beyond their fancy and expectation and lifted them from the privations of want. He made some of them who preferred service under him, emirs, and granted them agreeable *jagirs*. The aforesaid Kalu Khan said, "May your Majesty save me from this disgrace; I shall not accept anything as reward or favour because I did not come to this country out of any wordly greed".

When the chiefs of the clans of Roh had left, sultan Bahlol said to his emirs, "Present before me every Afghan who comes to Hind from Roh and is willing to enter my service. I shall grant him a *jagir* more agreeable than he deserves, and if he prefers service under anyone of you, out of ties of kinship, attachment, and friendship, offer him a satisfactory salary and if I hear of a single Afghan going back to his country for want of livelihood or employment, I shall remove you from the *jagir*." When the Afghans of Roh heard this news, and saw the gifts and bounties of the sultan, they migrated, day to day, month after month, towards Hind and obtained *jagirs* to their heart's content. It was during the reign of sultan Bahlol that Ibrahim Khan Sur, (grandfather of Sher Khan) came with his son, Miyan Hasan Sur from a place called "*Sarghari*" in Afghani dialect but '*Rohri* in Afghanistan to India.'[1]

1 This English translation is based on Achārya Jadunath Sarkar's copy of the Panjab University Ms and the copy of the Patna University manuscript borrowed for my use by Prof. S. N. Bose, F. B. S. Upāchārya, Visva-Bhārati.

CHAPTER III

Sultan Sikandar Lodi

1489-1517 A. D.

When sultan Bahlol departed from this world, prince Nizām Khan was in Delhi. On receiving the news he marched swiftly to the town of Jalali[1] where sultan Bahlol's army was encamped and sent his father's hearse to Delhi. Supported by Khan Jahān, Khān-Khanān Farmuli and the majority of the nobles, he arranged a grand festivity on a large elevated ground near Jalali known as *Kushk-i-Firuz*, situated on the bank of the Kālinadi and ascended the throne on Friday 17th Shaban,[2] 894 AH/ 16th July, 1489 under the title of sultan Sikandar. He had six sons at this time ;[3] Ibrāhim Khan, Ism'ail Khan, Hasan Khan, Mahmud Khan and Shaikh 'Azam Humāyun. Fifty-three distinguished chiefs attended this ceremony. They were honoured with kingly robe and exalted with high rank and suitable fiefs. The fame of his justice and fair play and the gladdening news of peace and prosperity reached the ears of all people and the business of administration acquired a new lustre.

Shortly after the affairs of the state had been put on a stable footing he set out on a military expedition in order to make certain of the of the kingdom. He first marched to the *pargana* of Rapri, where his brother 'Ālam Khan[4] fortified himfelf for a few days and then fled to 'Isà Khan and Tātār Khan Lodi at Patiali. The sultan alloted Rapri to Khan Khānān Nuhāni and then started for Etawah. He stayed here seven months. He won his brother 'Ālam Khan from the side of 'Azam Humāyun to his own cause and conferred Etawah upon him. He sent Ism'ail Khan Nuhani to Barbak Shah at Jaunpur for an accommodation of affairs with him and marched personally against 'Īsa Khan, *hakim* of Patiali who rebelled (against him). As they approached closer, 'Īsa Khan offered battle and was wounded. Due

1 Jalali— Situated about 11 miles east of Koil.

2 According to Dorn, 7th Shaban was the day of his coronation. According to the reckoning made by Swami Kannupillai in the "Indian Ephemeris" 17th Shaban is Friday [Vide *Ency. Brit.* 10002 for the explanation]

3 According to *T. D. I.* 42. *T. S.* Sikandar's coronation took place in his 18th year.

4 According to *T. D. T. A. T. F.* 'Alam Khan later entitled 'Alāuddin Alam Shah was the brother of sultan Sikandar. *C. H. I.* III. 285, wrongly states that he was the uncle of sultan Sikandar.

to his helplessness, he rendered submission and homage, but died of that wound.

At this time Rai Ganesh,[1] a courtier and favourite of Barbak Shah came and joined sultan Sikandar who granted him Patiali. Thereupon the sultan marched against Barbak Shah. On hearing this news Barbak Shah[2] rushed forward swiftly to try his strength with the sultan. They met each other near Kanauj and began fighting. Barbak Shah was defeated and fled towards Badaun. The sultan pursued him and besieged the place. Barbak submitted in helplessness and despair. The sultan conciliated him by his benignity and kindness and took him to Jaunpur where he was placed, as before, on the throne. He assigned the *parganas* round Jaunpur in fief to his followers and appointed them *daroghas* and *hakims*. He left some of his faithful servants in attendance on Barbak Shah so that the latter might not plot rebelliously against him. From this place he came to Kalpi[3] where he appointed Mahmud Khan Lodi, in place of 'Azam Humāyun, son of his brother Khwāja Bāyazid. From here the sultan started for Baksar Jhatra,[4] *hakim* of which performed all the rites of fealty and submission. The sultan confirmed him in possession of the place and marched towards Gwalior. He sent Khwaja Muhammad Farmuli with a horse and *khilat* to Raja Mān of Gwalior who offered allegiance and sent his nephew (brother's son) to the sultan who now started for Bayana.[5]

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1 M. A. has Ganesa گنیش ; T. A. 'Kanes کنیس 'the upper stroke of 'gaf' is missing there.

2 Ferishta, (T. F. 180) offers an interesting account of Barbak Shah's bid for the throne. He allied himself with Muhammad Farmuli, governor of Oudh and began the battle at Kanauj, but Muhammad Farmuli was encircled by the royal troops in course of fighting and taken captive. Sikandar won him over by his charm of address and kind treatment so that he turned his arms against Barbak and drove him to flight.

3 Kalpi, situated on the Jamuna and commanding the highway from the Doab into Central India, rose to poltical importance in the 15th century, after the break-up of the Delhi empire. Her rulers sought to maintain their independence by playing upon the jealousies of the rival sultans of Malwa and Jaunpur. When Bahlol Lodi stepped into power, he captured it and put his grandson 'Azam Humāyun in charge of it. T. A. III, Eng. tran.

4 Jaithra, a village in Azamnagar *Pargana*, Etah dt, 27'29 × 79'3.

5 Bayana, as stated before, had become the seat of a ruling dynasty after the decay of the Delhi empire in the 14th century. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Delhi

Sultan Ashraf, son of Ahmad Sultān Julwani came to render fealty The sultan asked him to vacate it in return for which Jalesar,[1] Chandawar, Marehra[2] and Sakit were pledged to him. Sultan Ashraf went back to Bayana along with 'Umar Khan Sarwani, in order to deliver him the keys of the fort, but when he returned to the fort, he, out of his folly and ignorance, rose in rebellion in breach of solemn engagement and strengthened the fortification.

At this time the sultan went to Agra, which was a hamlet on the bank of the Jamuna, within the Bayana *sarkar*, in order to catch fish and find relief from the scorching breezes. Haibat Khan Julwani, a dependant of Sultan Ashraf, shut himself up inside the fort. Having instructed some of his nobles to remain there, the sultan returned to Bayana and continued the siege with vigour. When Sultan Ashraf was reduced to great distress, he humbly begged for peace and safety. In 897 A.H./Nov. 1491-Dec. 1492, Bayana was conquered.[3] The sultan appointed Khan Khanan Farmuli to this district in place of Sultan Ashraf and himself proceeded to Delhi where he halted for twenty-four days.

About this time it was reported that the zamindars of the kingdom

sultans, its rulers laid the foundation of an independent power. Mahmud Khan won the gold crown from Mahmud shah of Malwa in recognition of his aid against Rana Kumbha, the ruler of Chitor and Ranthambhor. In 1466 A. D. sultan Ahmad Julwani submitted to sultan Husain Sharqi. In 1469 sultan Bahlol offered Bayana as a bait to sultan Mahmud Khilji of Malwa in return for his help against the Sharqi sultan. In 1489 he led his army as far as Alhanpur in Bayana *sarkar*, but fell back before the advancing army under Sher Khan, governor of Chanderi, a feudatory of the Malwa sultan. It is clear from the above that the ruling dynasty was overthrown by sultan Sikandar in 1492 A. D. T. A. Eng. Trans. III, 542, 544-46. Dorn assigns the conquest of Bayana to 898 A. H. but *M. A.*, T. F. 180 and M. T. 815 asigns it to 897 A. H. If this chronology of the conquest of Bayana is accepted, the date 899 A. H. assigned for the Jaunpur compaign becomes untenable. According to Niamutullah's own version, after the conquest of Bayana, the sultan marched to Delhi where he halted for 24 days when he started for Jaunpur. There was thus a gap only one month between the conquest of Bayana and the Jaunpur campaign. assigned to 899 A. H.

1 Jalesar — A well-known place in Etah dt. 28 miles west of Etah tn. In emperor Akbar's reign this pargana was inhabited by Guhilot Rajputs who supplied a contingent of 400 cavalry and 5000 infantry.

2 Marehra — situated 12 miles north of Etah town 27'44 × 78'85. Of the Pathan population of this district in 1901, the Lodis claimed the largest number.

3 *T. A.* assigns 897 A. H. as the date for the expedition which does not seem to be reasonable. M. A. A. S. B. 100 and M. A. L. U. Ms. have 899 AH.

of Jaunpur, at the instigation of the Bāchgotis,[1] had assembled a force of 100,000 foot and horse, expelled the *hakim* of Kara, a nominee of the sultan and slain Mubarak Khan's brother Sher Khan and that Mubarak Khan, while fording the Ganges at the Jhusi ferry was captured by the crews of the boat and that Rai Bhid, ruler of the kingdom of Bhata hearing of it, had taken Mubārak Khan prisoner, and that Barbak Khan, terrified by the predominance of the Bachgotis, had fled away from Jaunpur to Muhammad Khan Farmuli, better known as Kālāpāhār.

In 899/1494-95 A. D. sultan Sikandar marched towards Jaunpur When he reached Dalmau,[2] Barbak Shah met him there, attended by the entire body of noblemen and was offered a royal reception. Rai Bhid,[3] overawed by the sultan's might sent away Mubarak

1 Bāchgotis—A Rajput tribe descended from the Mainpuri Chauhāns. Elliot in his *Races of the Northwestern Provinces*, I, 47-49 refers to Bachgoti chiefs having been settled on the border of Jaunpur, Gorakhpur and south-eastern parts of Oudh. According to Sherring-*Hindu tribes and castes* 167, the Bachgotis predominated in Jaunpur, with a population of twenty to thirty thousand men. Elliot—in the *chronicles of Unao*, 69, states that the Bachgotis up to the time of Raja Tilokchand exercised the right of putting the *tika* mark on the head of each new Raja. Vide also Crooke—*Tribes and Castes of the Northwestern Provinces and Oudh* 94-95. The Bachgoti rising was formidable in character, inspired and fomented by the Sharqi sultan from Bihar. According to the *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, sultan Sikandar, by his rapidity of movement disconcerted the Bachgoti leader, Jugā who fled from his encampment, leaving all his baggage behind. The Afghan king thereupon addressed a diplomatic letter to sultan Husain offering to launch a combined offensive against the kafirs. The Sharqi sultan saw through the designs and instead challenged him to a trial of strength. He treated Sikandar as of no count on account of his having crossed sword with his father. In the battle that ensued the Sharqi army was defeated by Sikandar. Abdullah says that Sikandar had ordered the units of the different clans that made up his army into positions in the field. The Lodis formed up the van, the Sahukhail the right reserve, Farmulis the right, Lohanis the left, and Sarwanis the rear. He appealed to them to fight to the last and uphold Afghan honour. He himself moved along and directed the operations from the back of an elephant. The victory was won by him and Husain was forced out of his base in the Chanda fort. T. D. 60-62, T. S. A. 38-40.

2 According to Eng. translation of T. A. 360, footnote this place lay on the other side of the Ganges opposite to Kara. This is evidently incorrect, for Babur who traces his route from Dalmau to Kara, in his Memoirs, II, 684, locates it 44 miles north-west of Kara.

3 Rai Bhid, king of Bhatha should be identified with Bhaidachandra, of the Baghela dynasty. This name occurs in a Sanskrit manuscript which was brought to the notice of the scholarly world by Dr. Hirananda Shastri, in a *Memoir of the Archaeological survey of India* No. 21. Bhaidachandra, is synonymous with Bhiradeva of Cunningham's

Khan Nuhani to his presence. From that place the sultan came to Katgarh [1] The zamindars, having gathered their forces together, came out for an engagement and a violent fighting took place. Eventually the non-muslim army was defeated and scattered in all directions. The Muslim army captured an enormous booty. Exulting over his triumph, the sultan went to Jaunpur and having posted Barbak Shah there for the second time, started on the return journey. He roamed about and hunted for a month in the neighbourhood of the town of Oudh. When he reached Katgarh he received report of Barbak Shah's expulsion from Jaunpur through the violent attacks of the zamindars. The sultan sent Muhammad Khan Farmuli, 'Azam Humayun, Khan Jahan and Khan Khānān Nuhāni *via* Oudh and Mubārak Khan *via* Kara commanding them to send Barbak Shah in chains to the court. Mubārak Khan complied with this royal order.

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genealogical table. (*A. S. R. 21*, 107). Old historical records relating to this dynasty are extremely scarce. Those that exist are said to be modern compositions, confusing persons and dates in a most bewildering manner, (*Rewah State Gazetteer, 14*).

The Sanskrit Ms. referred to above written in eulogy of Virabhanu deva is therefore extremely useful, as offering a connected genealogy and fragments of historical facts of the Rewah kings until the end of the 16th century. This Kavya, composed by Madhava was copied by Tulsidas, in 1591 A. D. Dr. H. Shastri's reference to this work as being written by Tulsidas on page 1 is rather misleading. It bears double seals of Virabhadra, son of Raja Ramchandra, a contemporary of emperor Akbar. Ferishta mentions Sahadeva as having crossed sword with sultan Sikandar, but this name does not occur in any other chronicle. Bhid, *alias* Bhaidachandra appears to be the king who tried his arms with the Lodi sultan and died. His successor Salivahana became an ally of the Lodi sultan but later on incurred his resentment by refusing him the hand of his daughter. Virasinghadeva, the son and successor of Salivahana assisted Rana Sangha in the battle of Kanwah 1527 A. D. by offering him the aid of three thousand troops, entered into an alliance with Babur and captured Garah by defeating its ruler, Sangram Sah, father-in-law of the princess Durgavati. According to this *Kavya*, Virasingh seized Bandugarh, by defeating the Kuru king, Narayan and made himself master of Dahala and Sahajora, by overthrowing the chief of Ratanpur. Cunningham found the name Virasingh inscribed on a stone elephant at Lokhri, 48 miles west south-west of Allahabad (A. S. R. 16). Virabhanu, son and successor of Virasingh stood on friendly terms with Humayun which is supported by Gulbadan Begam's *Humayun namah*.

Ramchandra Dev, successor of Virabhanu is more noted as having been the patron of Tansen who was sent away to Agra at the request of emperor Akbar. He also offered asylum to Ibrāhim Sur, son of Sikandar Sur, in 962/1555 A. D.

1 M. A. L. U. Ma has Kamanghati, T. A. 818, has Kharankhati کہاران کہاتی, other variants are Kahkar کہکر Kahtar.

When Barbak Shah appeared before the sultan, he was handed over to Haibat Khan and 'Umar Khan Sarwani; while the sultan himself started from the neighbourhood of Jaunpur for the fort of Chunar.[1] Some of sultan Husain Sharqi's chiefs who were in occupation of it, put up a fight and being defeated barricaded themselves inside the fort. As the fort was very massive and impregnable and the sultan lacked the apparatus of siege, he set-out for Kantit[2] lying within the territory of Bhata. Rai Bhid, the local Raja, came forward and offered submission. Sikandar confirmed him in possession of it and marched towards Arail and Pyag.[3] Meanwhile owing to apprehensions which had gained hold of his mind, the Raja fled towards Bhata, leaving all his goods and equipage behind. The sultan received this news on the following morning and having collected all his goods and articles sent them back to him. On reaching Arail, the sultan seized this territory with the hand of pillage, destroved the cultivation and orchards and then passed across Kara to Dalmau. He was bound here in wedlock with the widow of Sher Khan Nuhāni, a most beautiful and accomplished woman of the time and then proceeded towards Shamsābad. He remained there for six months and set out again for Sambhal from which place he again came back to Shamsabad. During the march he destroyed the villages from Madmau[4] to Koil which had been the lair and haunt of the rebels and put most of them to the sword.

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1 Ranking reads, Janhar which is a copyist's error.

2 The word in M. A. is Kanasht' which has been corrected into Kantit. Ferishta has *Katba* کتبه which is absurd. It was a *mahal* in Allahabad *sarkar* during Akbar's reign. The fort stood on the Ganges, *Ain*. II, 172. Babur starting from Allahabad on 14th March reached this place enroute Chunar on the 20th, *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, 6/7.

3 This word occurs in M. A. L. U. MS. It is mis-written as Biyak بیاک corrected by me into Pyag.

4 B. De writes *Madmaunahal* in the Eng. Tran. of *T. A.* 361, while *Madmautakal* مدمونا کل occurs in the Persian text edited by him. *C. H. I.* III 298 curiously enough writes that the sultan destroyed the inhabitants of two villages who had been guilty either of rebellion or of brigandage. In the M. A. L. U. Ms the word is written as Madiu-ta-kol. This word has perplexed many scholars. I presume I offer the correct reading by identifying Madiu or Madman with Motimau and Koil near Aligarh. So the correct word is Matimau-ta-koil متیمونا کول

Operation against the Baghelas

II

In 900 AH/ Oct. 1494-Aug. 1495, the sultan proceeded towards the country of Bhata to punish Raja Bhid and laid waste most of the insurgent villages on the way. When he reached the Kahal pass, Bir Singh, son of Rai Bhid of Bhata, came forward and offered battle. He was defeated and fled towards Bhata. The sultan pursued him to Bhata upon which the Raja fled towards the village of Sarguja ;[1] (but) he died on the way. The sultan renewed his march from Phapund,[2] lying within Bhata *pargana*. Here opium, *koknār*, salt and oil became dear and most of the horses died of polluted water and air. Hardly one in ten survived. Rai Laksmichand, son of Raja Bhid and a number of zamindars wrote to [sultan Hussain Sharqi, "There is hardly any horse alive in sultan Sikandar's army. All his arms and accoutrements are lost. Here is a chance for loot." Sultan Husain marched his large army including a troop of one hundred elephants from Bihar against sultan Sikandar who forded across the *Kantit* ferry to Chunar and thence pressed on towards Benares. He sent Khan Khanan to Salivahan,[3] son of Rai Bhid in order to direct him there by proper counsel. In the meantime sultan Husain had marched within thirteen *koss* of Benares.[4] Sultan

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1 *M.·A.* writes Sarguja. *T. A.* has Sarkaj.

2 *M.A.A.S.B.* 100 & 102 have this word ; *M.A.L.U.* Ms. has Sahund, T.A. has Sondha ; it has been identified with a place having the same name in Kalinjar *sarkar*, in 82°88 x 25°17, *C.H.I.*III, 238, Ain. II. 177. The account of the sultan's march from Sarguja to Sundah as given in T. A. seems to be very improbable. To pass across the defiles to Sarguja and from there to Sundah which was not visited before by any Muslim army is a military feat which cannot be readily credited to Sikandar, without corroborative evidence. Secondly, there was hardly any political gain by pursuing a beaten Raja across an unknown country by devious routes. *C. H. I's* account of the sultan's campaign in Bhata is very misleading. The repeated mention of Raja Bhil of Phaphamau is ludicrous ; similarly the account of Sikandar's march from Sarguja to Sundah seems to be based on a misapprehension of the topography. *C. H. I.* III, 237-238.

Phapaund is a small village, 24°×81°9, *Vide*, *F. A. E.* f. n. 127.

3 The name occurs in the *Virabhanudaya Kavyam* which offers a genealogy of the Baghela dynasty of Rewah, *Memoirs*, *A. S. I.* 21 where he is mentioned as the brother of Rai Bhid.

4 The distance is estimated variously ; 18 *koss* according to *T. D.* and M. A. 18 *koss* according to *T. F.* and 10 *koss* according to *T. A.* The account of Raja Laksmichand inciting sultan Husain against sultan Sikandar and of Salivahan co-operating on the otherhand with the Lodi king suggests a disputed succession in the Bhata State.

Sikandar, having put his faith in Divine grace, marched against him as quickly as possible. Meanwhile Salivahan came and contacted sultan Sikandar. As the columns from the opposite sides drew nearer, a clash occurred resulting in a severe engagement. All on a sudden sultan Husain was defeated and retreated precipitately to the country of Bhata. Sultan Sikandar pursued him with a force of one lakh cavalry[1] and came back to his encampment after nine days, when he received the report of sultan Husain's marching away towards Bihar. Sultan Sikandar too marched in that direction. On hearing this news, sultan Husain proceeded to Kahalgaon,[2] situated within the kingdom of Lakhnauti, leaving Malik Kandu in the fort of Bihar. From the encampment at Deobar, the sultan deputed a force againt him. Unable to contend in arms, Malik Kandu fled and Bihar passed under the control of sultan Sikandar's officials.[3] Leaving Mahabat Khan at Bihar with a number of chiefs the sultan marched back to Darweshpur. He assigned the cantonment to the charge of Khan Jahan and made forced marches towards Tirhut. The Raja of this kingdom came forward to offer submission and agreed to a levy of several lakhs of rupees. The sultan appointed Mubarak Khan to raise this contribution and himself returned to Darweshpur.[4] and joined his army.

On the 16th Shawwal, 901 AH./Tuesday, 28th June, 1496, Khan Jahān died. The sultan conferred the title of 'Azam Humāyun upon his eldest son Ahmad Khan and went on a pilgrimage to Shaikh Sharfuddin Yahiya Muneri's tomb. He made the faquirs and the poor inhabitants of this place happy and came back to Darweshpur.

From this place he started on the campaign against sultan 'Alāuddin, king of Bengal. As Sikandar reached Tughluqpur[5] lying within the Bihar territory, sultan 'Alāuddin detached his son in order to reconnoitre. Sultan Sikandar deputed Mahmud Khan Lodi and Mubarak Khan Nuhani to oppose him. The two forces confronted each other at Barh[6] when both the parties made overtures for peace. It was

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1 The number is apparently exaggerated.

2 A Railway station and mart in the Bhagalpur district within Bihar State, 25 miles north of Rajmahal.

3 The same version in *T. D.* 69-70, *T. A.* and *T. F.*

4 Darweshpur. — situated near Maner.

5 Taghluqpur, I fail to locate it, but it would not be far-off from Maner.

6 Barh — Railway station on the Eastern Railway about 40 miles east of Patna.

stipulated that the two monarchs would not make war upon each other nor harbour rebels.[1] After this agreement, Mahmud Khan and Mubārak Khan wended their way back. The latter died at Patna, lying within the territory of Bihar. Sultan Sikandar accepted these terms and marched back from Tughluqpur to Darweshpur where he resided for a few months. He assigned this district to 'Azam Humāyun and that of Bihar to Mubarak Khan's son, Dariya Khan. There was such a scarcity of corn this year that the sultan remitted the *zakat*[2] for the relief of his subjects and banned its levy by a royal decree. From this place he marched towards Saran which was held by the local zamindars and assigned it as jagir to his own men. He then returned to Jaunpur and lived here for six months.

He then recommended his march towards Bhata: because he had sought the hand in marriage of Raja Sālivahan's daughter and the Raja had dishonoured this command by refusing to comply with it. In 904 A. H.[3] Aug. 1498-July 1499 the sultan marched towards Bhata to redeem his honour. On reaching the place he sacked it, and blotted out all traces of cultivation. When he reached Bandhu,[8] the most impregnable fort of the kingdom and the seat of royalty, the Muslim heroes performed splendid deeds of bravery. As the exertion did not bear fruit, the sultan returned to Jaunpur. He remained here for sometime and engaged himself in the business of administration. During this period the accounts of Mubarak Khan Lodi Muchi-Khail

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1 This version of *M. A.* is supported by *T. A. T. D.* f. 69 and *T. F.* Dorn's translation "Sultan Sikandar should evacuate every place nor extend his dominion etc." is not warranted by the corresponding words in the B. M. Ms.

2 According to *T. F.* 182, the ban on the levy of *Zakat* was imposed througout his dominion. For *Zakat* (vide *S. E. I.* 654-56 Muslims pay *Zakat* on the following kinds of property(1) crops of the field, (2) fruits, (3) camels, cattle, sheep and goats, (4) gold and silver, (5) merchandise (En. Isl. VIII, p. 1202-4).

3 It is very difficult to reconcile this date with the chronology given of the events previous to it. The sultan's campaign in Bihar was concluded in 901 A. H. As the expedition to Bhatghora or Bhata followed it, the date 904 A. H. does not appear quite consistent.

4 Bandhu—apparently Bandhugarh, well-known fort in the Rewah State, located by Ranking about 60 miles south of Rewah. *M. A.* (L. U. MS) writes the word Bandhu clearly. In the Asiatic Society Mss no. 100 and 102 the *dot* below the letter '*be*' ب is absent. *T. F.* 182 has *Mandugarh*, Blochmann *Ain* I, 885, 893 writes *Bandhu* *M. T.* 317 writes *Bandhugarh*.

who had been put in charge of Jaunpur after the imprisonment of Barbak Shah, came under royal scrutiny. Though he tried to extricate himself by means of subtle devices, and the chiefs interceded on his behalf, it was of no avail. The sultan commanded that the accumulated arrears should be recovered from him in accordance with the previous terms.

During this period the sultan went out for a game of polo at which Haibat Khan's stick hit that of Sulaimān Khan, son of Dariyā Khan Sarwani and the ball struck Sulaiman in the head. A quarrel now arose between them, causing much bitter feeling. Khizr Khan, brother of Sulaimān determined to avenge the wrong done to his brother, struck Haibat Khan's head with his stick, causing a great uproar. Mahmud Khan and Khān-i-Khānān pacified Haibat Khan and escorted him to his house. The sultan returned from the field to the palace and after a few days rode back to the ground to play polo. Shams Khan, a relation of Haibat Khan, lay in ambush on the way and as Khizr Khan, brother of Sulaiman, reached the spot, he struck him (Khizr) on the head with his stick. By royal command Shams Khan was given a good kicking and sultan Sikandar went back full of anxiety. After this event he became suspicious of the nobles and appointed the most trustworthy among them to stand on guard and keep special watch. They put on coats-of-mail and stood sentry every night.[1]

A number of chiefs formed a conspiracy. Twenty-two of them leagued themselves together and incited sultan Bahlol's son, Fath Khan, to make an attempt upon the throne. They bound themselves by oaths and covenants and hatched a plan for a rising. The prince, out of certain considerations, divulged the secret and the list of the conspirators' names to his mother and Shaikh Zahid,[2] his spiritual guide and preceptor who instructed and advised him to submit the names to the sultan and cleanse his robe from the stain of disloyalty. The prince complied with this advice and laid the facts before the sultan who, being aware of it, banished every member of this hostile body from the country, in order to root out disaffection.

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1 *M. T.* says that the sultan ordered armed guards to attend upon him every night. B. 1. text 317, 418.

2 *T. F.* 182, writes "*Tahir Kabuli.*"

In 905 AH/Aug. 1499-July 1500, when his mind was free from uneasiness on this account, he started for Sambhal. As the climate of this place was suited to his constitution and games abundant, he resided in this district for four years.[1]

During this period he was engaged in administrative work, merriment and pastime, most of the time being devoted to chase and the game of polo. Shaikh Jamāl Kambu, repository of esoteric learning and the custodian of divine knowledge, came to Delhi, travelling by land and sea. The sultan invited him by means of a versified letter. They lived together merrily for two years, talking poetry most of the time.

Meanwhile the sultan received report of the wickedness and disloyalty of Asghar, *hakim* of Delhi, and commanded Khawās Khan, *hakim* of Machiwara, to seize and send him to court. Having received this intelligence on a Saturday night, Safar 906 AH/Aug. 1500, Asghar started at once from Delhi before Khawās Khan's[2] arrival and appeared before the sultan at Sambhal. He was put into confinement by royal command.[3] On reaching Delhi, Khawas Khan deputed here his own son Ism'āil Khan and himself came to Sambhal in obedience to command and received *khilāt* and favours. About this time S'aid Khan Sarwani came to the sultan from Lahore. As he was also one of the groups of the plotters, the sultan banished him out of his dominion along with Tātār Khan, Muhammad Shah and the rest of his accomplices. They swiftly passed across Gwalior towards Malwa and Gujrat.

Raja Mān sent from Gwaliar his eunuch Nihal with exquisite presents and gifts to the sultan. When Nihal won the honour of appearing before the threshold, the sultan put to him various questions to which he gave rude and uncomplimentary replies. Seized with anger the sultan threatened him saying that he would march down on the fort and take it by storm.

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1 Same account in *T. S.* 79 ; *T. F.* 188 and *T. A.* 324.

2 Khawas Khan was an important grandee of sultan Sikandar. He is described as Khan-i-Azam Masnad-i-Ala in an epigraph testifying to the erection of a mosque by Kasumbhil, nurse of his son Fath Khan (E. I. Moslemica, 1919-20,). Another Khwas Khan was the father of Miyan Bhua and held the position of *wazir* (Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi).

3 Asghar's imprisonment is corroborated by *T. A. T. F.* 182, and M. T. 318, Dorn's statement that Asghar's son was thrown into prison cannot be accepted.

At this time the sultan received news of the death of Khān-Khānan Farmuli, *hakim* of Bayana and appointed his sons, 'Imād and Sulaiman[1] to that post, but as Bayana, owing to the strength of its fortification and its situation on the frontier, had become the haunt of rebels and wicked persons, 'Imād and Sulaimān, out of certain considerations, went away to Sambhal with their following. The sultan transferred Bayana from them to Khawas Khan. Shortly after Safdar Khan was appointed as collector عمل داری of Agra[2] which formed a dependancy of Bayana. 'Imād and Sulaiman were granted Shamsabad, Jalesar, Manglur,[3] Shahabad[4] and other *parganas*.

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1 *M. T.* 818 has Ahmad and Sulaiman.

2 *T. F.* 189 says that he was appointed to reduce Agra.

3 Manglur,—I suggest the identification of this place with a village of the same name, six miles distant from Kanpur. Havelock had his fortified post here in 1857.

4 Shahabad—H Q. of the tahsil in Hardoi dt. 27 36 x 79 56,

III

Operation against the Tomaras

'Ālam Khan, *hakim* of Mewat, and Khan Khanan Nuhani, feofee of Rapri, were commanded to effect the conquest of Dholpur in co-operation with Khawās Khan and wrest this district from the control of Manikdeo. In accordance with the command 'Ālam Khan marched to Dholpur and the above-mentioned Rai advanced to fight. A number of men were killed in action everyday. Khwaja Babban who was a warrior so powerful that he could break the enemy's ranks, died a hero's death. On Friday, 6th Ramzan 906 A. H./26th March 1501, sultan Sikandar, on receiving this news, started from Sambhal for Dholpur.[1] When he reached this place, Rai Manikdeo[2] fled to Gwalior, while his following fortified themselves inside the citadel. His officers, unable to bear the Sikandari assault, left the fort at dead of night and it was captured in the morning. The sultan, having entered the fort, offered two rak'a (رکعه) of prayer and fulfilled other rites of victory. The royal army mercilessly pillaged, laying waste all the cultivated land and orchards extending around Dholpur over an area of seven *koss*, even digging up the trees by the very roots. After a month's encampment, the sultan started for Gwalior.

Having posted here Adam Lodi with most of the noblemen, he crossed the Chambal and encamped on the Asi[3] *alias* Mandākini for two months. Low water in the river caused an epidemic among the troops. The Raja of Gwalior sent his vakil to the sultan's presence and sued for peace. He sent away S'aid Khan, Babu Khan and Rai Ganesh who had fled from sultan Sikandar and sought asylum under him and deputed his eldest son Vikramjit, to an interview with the sultan who presented him with a *khilat* and a horse. After the settlement of terms[4] the sultan set out for Agra. On reaching

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1 Ferishta puts 6th Jammad, I. 907 17th Nov. 1501 as the date for this expedition.

2 Manikdeo—*T. A.* 824, T. F. 188, write Vinayekdeo, *M. A. L. U. Ms* Sukhdeo and Manikdeo, Dorn Manikdo. G. L. Tiwari in his book संक्षिप्त बुन्देलखण्ड का इतिहास writes Vinayekdeo.

3 Asi-identified by Hodiwala, with the Asun, a tributary of the Betwa *S. I. M. H.* 496. According to Thornton, this stream was fordable at points on the route from Agra to Gwalior. Ranking, *M. T.* Eng. tr. I. 419 translates this word very curiously into "frog-haunted".

4 This account shows that Raja Man parleyed for terms and did not become a vassal of sultan Sikandar.

Dholpur, he reinstated Manikdeo and then came back to his headquarters at Bayana.

In the month of Ramzan, 910 AH/7th January — 5th February, 1505 A. D. after the rising of Canopus, he raised the standard of march towards Mandrail.[1] The garrison begged for quarter and capitulated. The sultan destroyed the temples[2] of the place and built mosques in their stead. Having placed Miyan Makan and Mujāhid Khan in charge of this fort, he sallied out to sack and plunder the neighbourhood. He laid waste the groves and cultivation and having earned the felicity of a holy war, returned to Bayana. Owing to the warmth of air, many people fell sick of typhus and other bad diseases this year. The *jagirdars*, ryots and officers of the crown-land had been molested by rebels, and knaves inhabiting the bank of the Jamuna within the Bayana *sarkar*. They had made repeated representation and the sultan had long been keen on building a town at a suitable site on the bank of this river.

In 911 A.H./June 1505 — May, 1506, the sultan resolved to translate this idea into action and to populate all the area so that it might become the seat of royalty, a place for the assemblage of troops and a base from which the rebels of the neighbourhood might be rendered obedient and submisssive, trodden under foot and kept in subjugation. With this object in view, he deputed a number of wise, experienced and farsighted men to survey both banks of the river and report a site that appeared suitable to them. They started from Delhi on board a vessel and floated downstream, surveying and reconnoitring until they arrived at the spot where Agra now stands. They selected this site and submitted a memorandum to the sultan who marched from Delhi to the town of Mathura. Here he embarked on a boat and made a delightful journey, roaming about and hunting, until he reached Agra and sighted a high ground suitable for habitation. He asked the captain of the crews named Nayak, who piloted his barge which of the two areas of high ground ahead was more suited to his purpose. Nayak replied "That one in the foreground (Āg-i-Rāh)

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1 Mandrail — 12 miles S. S. E. of Karauli tn. *Ain* II, 201. It had a fort on the Chambal.

2 Kanisa, کنیسای the original Persian word is rendered into fire-altar by Elliot and fire-temple by B. De. Hodiwala rightly suggests that this word means a Hindu temple.

اسراه. The sultan *smiled* and said "Let this town also be named, "Ag-rah." اگراه. He recited the *Fatiha* and ordered the foundations to be laid at an auspicious hour. The city was founded on the outskirts of the villages of Pusi and Puya within the Duli *pargana* in Bayana *sarkar*. The fifty-two *parganas* constituting the above *sarkar* were incorporated into Agra which since that time has flourished greatly and has turned out to be the capital of the rulers of Hindustan.[1] In a care-free mood the sultan commanded a fort to be built and thereupon started for Dholpur. When the fort was captured, he transferred it from Manikdeo into the hands of Malik Mu'izuddin, after which he returned to Agra and sent away the chiefs to their respective *jagirs*.

On Sunday, 3rd Safar, 911 AH/6th July, 1505, there was such a violent earthquake at Agra that the hills shook to their foundations and the big buildings crashed down. The living considered it to be the Day of Judgment, while it was the Day of Ressurrection for the dead. From the times of Adam until the present day such a severe earthquake had neither occurred in Hindustan, nor been recorded in any chronicle. A learned man of Hindustan found out the date of this event in the chronogram "*Qāzi.*" People are unanimous that the tremor was experienced in most parts of Hindustan on that day,

The sultan spent the rainy season here and after the rising of Canopus at the end of 911 A.H. /May 1506, he marched towards Gwalior. He remained a month and a half at Dholpur from which place he passed to the bank of the Chambal near the ford at Kur[2] where he ordered the army to encamp for a few months. Having posted here prince Jalal Khan with a number of chiefs, he set out on a holy war and pillage of the non-muslim country. Most of the people who had escaped to the woods and hills were cut down by the sword, while the rest were taken prisoner and put to torture. As there was a failure of supplies in the army owing to the shortage of the *banjaras*, 'Azam

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1 *M. A.* A.S. B. Ms. 101, f. 71b, assigns the foundation of the city to 910 A. H. Ferishta's slight remark about the foundation of this city is very cogent. He says that this tract of territory which had been neither in Hindu nor Muslim times the seat of royalty, was made the royal head-quarter, to facilitate the conquest of Gwalior and Narwar (*T. F.* 188). This city was founded on the left bank of the Jamuna.

2 Variant *Kusla* in *T. A.* text, 326 and *Koka*, *T. F.* 188. Both the *M.A. L. U.* Ms and *A. S. B.* Ms 101 are obscure here.

Humayun was deputed to procure provisions. In the course of his march, the sultan reached Chinawar,[1] a dependancy of Gwalior, situated at a distance of 10 *koss* (from the ford). The Raja of Gwalior attacked him in an ambuscade and a violent battle ensued. Daud Khan and Ahmad Khan, sons of Khan Jahan displayed boundless prowess and bravery and were reinforced from the rear by troops under the sultan. The Rajputs were defeated and a large number of them was either slain or taken prisoner. The sultan conferred upon Dāud Khan the title of *malik*, treated him with great honour and started for Agra at the approach of the rainy season. Having deputed most of the distinguished chiefs to Dholpur, he reached the capital and spent the entire rainy season there in ease, enjoyment and pleasure.

After the appearance of Canopus, in 912 AH/ about December 1506, he marched towards the fort of Antagarh.[2] 'Imād Khan Farmuli and Mujāhid Khan from Dholpur were deputed at the head of several thousand cavalry and a hundred elephants to reconnoitre while he himself halted. He appointed to the posts of chamberlain Tahir Kabuli's son, Qāzi 'Abdullah, an inhabitant of the town of Thaneswar, Shaikh 'Umar and Shaikh Ibrāhim.

The principality of Kalpi had been assigned to Mahmud Khan's son, Jalāl Khan, after the death of his father Mahmud Khan Lodi. The brothers quarrelled amongst themselves and petitioned the sultan who deputed Firuz Aghwan to go to Jalāl Khan's brothers, Bhikan Khan[3] and Mujāhid Khan and summon them to his presence. The two brothers met him on the bank of the Chambal and were received with honour befitting a king.

1 Chinawar, situated in Gwalior *Sarkar*, *Ain.* II, 198. Written *Chātsawar* in Jarret's edition, چنیاور in lithographed copy. *T. F.* 183 writes Janur.

2 Modern Utgarh, written Utgir in Jarrett, *Ain.* II. *T. A.* 327 — Uditnagar, *T. F.* 184, ibid, Briggs, I 580, Hunwantgarh, Dorn 62, Tehunkur. According to the *Ain* — اونتگر was a stone-fort overlooking the river Chambal, *Ain*, II, lith. ed. 91.
قلعه سنگین برفرازکو ر پایان او دریای چنبل میگزرد

3 *M. A.* and *T. A.* have this name, but *T. F.* has Bhikan Khan, son of Mujāhid Khan.

On the 23rd Ramzan 912 A.H./ Saturday, 6th February, 1507, the sultan came to fort Antagarh and besieged it. He commanded the whole army to equip themselves and make exertion for the reduction of the fort. At an hour chosen by the astrologer the sultan himself took the field and whipped up fighting all around the fort. The royal army, thirsting for blood, surrounded the fort on all sides, like ants and locusts, displaying their valour. By the grace of God, the breeze of victory and triumph suddenly blew on the tassel of the royal standard. The rampart was breached on the side of Malik 'Alāuddin, when the heroes rushed in. They took no heed of the piteous wails raised by the garrison but stormed in from all directions. After the fort was taken by assault, the Rajputs fell back on their dwelling and villas and started fighting. They performed the *Jauhar*. Meanwhile, an arrow struck Malik 'Alāuddin in the eye, and deprived him of sight. This victory over, the sultan performed the rites of thanksgiving to the Almighty and assigned the fort to Miyan Mākan and Mujāhid Khan in order that they might destroy the idol-temples and build mosques on their sites.

When the news was conveyed to the sultan that Mujāhid Khan had received bribe from the Antagarh Raja, in order to divert him away from this place, he imprisoned his own chamberlain Maulana Juman, a firm friend of Mujāhid Khan on the 15th Muharram, 913 A.H./ Friday, 28th May, 1507 A. D. Having entrusted the fort to Malik Tājuddin he ordered his high officers at Dholpur to imprison Mujāhid Khan. At the end of Muharram, 913 A.H./1st week of June, 1507, the sultan ordered march back to Agra. Owing to the narrowness of the road which went winding up and down, the sultan ordered a day's halt on the way, to enable the soldiers to negotiate it in safety without over-crowding. Men died of thirst and were crushed to death by the press of the baggage animals. A single jug of water sold at 15 *Sikandari tanka*. Some died of want of water ; others who obtained water drank so unrestrainedly that they also collapsed. The dead were counted at 800. On the 27th Muharram/ Tuesday, 8th June, 1507, the sultan reached Dholpur from which place he came to Agra a few days later.

He spent here the rainy reason and after the rising of Canopus, started again on march to reduce the Narwar fort, a dependancy of Malwa. He ordered Jalal Khan, *hakim* of Kalpi, to march to besiege

Narwar,[1] saying, "If the garrison offers terms, well and good ; otherwise prosecute the siege with vigour." As Jalal Khan approached the place, the garrison did not show disposition for peaceful accomodation but actively prepared for war. After a few days, the sultan too reached the place. The day following his arrival, he rode on horseback to reconnoitre the fort. Jalal Khan formed up his force in three divisions of cavalry, elephant and infantry and drew them up by the road so that the sultan might inspect them and recognise his fidelity. The sultan was alarmed by the number of his troops and after much deliberation decided to gradually cripple his power and eventually destroy him. As the fort of Narwar was impregnable like a hill, stretching to a perimeter of eight miles, the troops were engaged in daily assaults and sacrificed their lives like heroes.[2] As the siege was protracted and the fighting long-drawn, the sultan commanded the soldiers to remain ready with their arrow, hatchet, dagger and battle-axe in hand, to dig holes in the wall. In compliance with the command, the soldiers surged round the fort on all sides and exhibited their valour. The sultan was delighted to observe from the roof of a building that the breach made on a wall of the fort was instantly filled up by the garrison. Heavy casualties occurred to the (sultan's) troops at this time.[3] Realising that the fort could not be easily taken, the sultan suspended operations at Narwar for a few days.

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1 Narwar—A very important Rajput stronghold which resisted the onset of the early Turki sultans. In 1252 A.D. Chahār Deo (miscalled Chahād, the Achāryā, in *C. H. I. III*, 68, miswritten Jahiraja in *T. N.* B. I. 215.) was the ruler of this fort and presumably of large portion of Malwa. He opposed Balban with a force of five thousand horse and two lakhs of foot-men. (This Chahar Deo is said to have been a brother of a relative of Prithviraj Chauhan and his genealogy is traced to Arno raj (*E. I.* Vol. XII, 221.224). During sultan Sikandar's reign Narwar formed a part of the kingdom of Malwa. The place is situated about 44 miles south of Gwalior. *Ain*, II. lith. copy, 90 refers to the existence of ancient temples standing there and refutes the account of wholesale destruction of Hindu shrines made above, by saying در بعضی مواضع ان قلعه سنگین معابد قدیم دارد

2 According to Dorn, the Rajputs began a sharp fire of musketry "This is absolutely unwarranted, there is no corresponding Persian passage in the Patna copy identical with *B. M.* Ms no. Add. 21, 911.

3 Ferishta accounts for this casualty by hinting at a secret understanding between the Rajput garrison and a section of the sultan's army. *T' F.* lith. copy. 184.

He won his best men over to his side and sowed dissension among the large body of men who were faithful to Jalal Khan. He issued one order to Ibrahim Khan Nuhani, Sultan Farmuli and Malik 'Alāuddin Julwani, to arrest Jalal Khan and another to Miyan Bhuā, S'aid Khan, son of Jaku and Malik Adam Kākar, to conduct Jalal Khan and Sher Khan in chains to Antagarh fort and confine them there in strict guard. Thereupon the sultan renewed his efforts for the reduction of Narwar fort.[1] Disheartened by the shortage of food and water, the garrison appealed for clemency and vacated the fort with all their belongings. The sultan destroyed the temples and ordered mosques to be built in their places. He assigned allowances and stipends to the theologians and students and remained encamped for six months at the foot of the fort.

In the meantime Shihabuddin,[2] son of sultan Nasiruddin, king of Malwa, having been disaffected towards his father, desired to meet sultan Sikandar and started from Chanderi for Narwar. When he arrived near the town of Sipri, sultan Sikandar sent him a horse and a royal *khilat*, saying that if he delivered Chanderi into the hands of his officers, he would offer him such a liberal assistance as would place him beyond the reach of sultan Nasiruddin's violence. Certain impediments unexpectedly arose for which the prince could not leave Malwa. The time being unpropitious for the surrender of Chanderi, the sultan went back to his station.[3]

On the 20th Shaban, 914 AH/Wednesday, 20th December, 1508, the sultan began his march from Narwar fort and reached the bank of the river Sipra, on Ziqadah/21 Feb-23rd March, 1509. It then occurred

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1 According to *T. D.* f. 81, the siege of Narwar lasted one year.

2 In 1512 Prince Shihabuddin who had been nominated heir-apparent rebelled against his father and challenged him to an action in the neighbcurhood of Dhar. He was defeated and fled towards Chanderi. Nasiruddin marched in pursuit of him as far as Sipri and tried his best to win him over but the prince persisted in hostility until he died in the following year, 1518 A. H. (*T. A.* Eng. tr. III, 870-80)

3 *T. A.* and *T. F.* offer two different dates for the event of Shihabuddin's application for help to sultan Sikandar. *T. A.* 13 20 and *T. F.* 184 assign 914 A. H. Again *T. A.* III, 882 and *T. F.* 262 write 916 A. H. *C. H. I.* III, repeats this inaccuracy by mentioning 1508 A. D, on p. 244, and 1510 on p. 864. Ahmad Yadgar wrongly states that as a result of the capture of Narwar, Sikandar's authority extended from Jalalabad to Mandu, and from Udaipur to Patna. (*T. S.* 41).

to his mind that Narwar fort was very strong ; if it fell into enemy hands, it could not be recaptured easily. Consequently he had a contravellation built around it, so that no enemy might stretch hands over it. Having set his mind at rest on this score, the sultan marched to the Lahayer town[1] and encamped there for a month.

Meanwhile Qutb Khan Lodi's wife Ni'amat Khatun, came with Prince Jalal Khan and joined the royal army. The sultan went to meet her and conciliated them. He assigned Kalpi as *jagir* to Jalal Khan and sent him there along with Ni'amat Khatun, with 120 horses, 50 elephants, a special *khilat* and a large sum of money.

On the 10th Muharram, 915 AH/Monday, 30th April, 1509, the royal standard advanced from Lahayer to the neighbourhood of Hatkant.[2] A large force was detached to punish the insurgents of this locality and it was purged of polytheism and disloyalty. The sultan set up military outposts and returned to his capital at Agra.

News was received that Ahmad Khan, son of Mubarak Khan Lodi, *hakim* of Lucknow[3] had adopted the practices of unbelief, طریقه ارتداد in the company of his *kafir* associates and renounced Islam. The sultan commanded the Khan's brother to send him in chains to court.

Meanwhile, Muhammad Khan,[4] grandson of sultan Nasiruddin of

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1 Lahayer : Lahār a pargana in the Bhind district. (Central India Gaz. 154). Lahār town according to Rauking (M. T. Eng. tr. 428) lay 50 miles southeast of Gwalior, 60 miles W. of Kalpi. The word is written as Yehar in *T. F.*, Sahor in *M. A.L.U.* Ms. *S. I. M.H.* op. cit. 498.

2 Hatkant—*C. H. I.* identifies it with Athghat on the Chambal, 27 48, 78 46. 20 miles west of Etawah on the route to Agra, at present included in the Bah Tahsil of Agra district. According to Hodiwala, Hatkant is the old name of the Bhaduria country near Gwalior. The Bhaduriya chiefs were noted for their turbulent spirit. Bhind in Gwalior is locally known as Bhind-Bhadawar, on account of its having been the chief seat of the Bhaduriah Rajputs situated in 26 33 x 78 48, 54 miles north east of Gwalior, (S. I. M.H. 489). Elliot Races. II. 86 writes that Hatkant was situated in the Chambal ravines.

3 *A. T.* writes *Lakhnauti* which is untenable.

4 When Sāhib Khan, son of sultan Nāsiruddin was raised to the throne under the title of sultan Muhammad II, by Muhafiz Khan in 917 A H/1511, there was a recrudescence of civil war in Malwa. There were three candidates for the throne, sultan Mahmud II, Sahib Khan *alias* sultan Muhammad and Hushang Shah, adopted son of the deceased sultan Shihabuddin who held out in a hill-fort, *T. A.* Eng. tr. III, 584. This extraordinary political circumstance occasioned the rise of the Rajput captain and diplomatist, Medini Rai who first defeated and wounded Prince Sāhib Khan in an engagement at Mandu. Sāhib Khan later on fled from Mandu to Gujrat and from there to Asir, (*T. A.* Eng. tr. III, 582-585). Subsequently Medini Rai's ascendancy stirred up the Muslim

Malwa, being alienated from his grandfather, sought the sultan's protection, Chanderi was assigned to him in fief and prince Jalal Khan was ordered to befriend and shield him from the attack of the Malwa army. The sultan then started for diversion and hunting towards Dholpur and had villas and habitations built at every stage on the road from Agra to Dholpur.

As fortune was favourable and luck propitious, another kingdom fell a prey in course of the sultan's hunting expedition. The facts are briefly as follows. 'Ali Khan and Abā bakr, fellow-clansmen of Muhammad Khan of Nagaur[1] plotted against him and wanted to take his life by every possible contrivance and seize his principality. Aware of their design, he overcame them and wanted to have them removed from his path. They fled to the sultan's court. Warned by the hostility and estrangement of his relations and their seeking the protection of His Royal Majesty, Muhammad Khan sent a petition to the sultan expressing his fidelity, with abundant gifts and presents and had the sultan's name recited in the *khutba* and the coinage struck in his name. The sultan was much delighted to hear this news. He sent a horse and a *khilat* to Muhammad Khan and returned from Dholpur to Agra. He spent some time in amusement and pleasure, making excursion in the gardens hunting and holding levees.

During his reign Agra became the seat of royalty which previously had been a village within the jurisdiction of Bayana. After an interval of rest he started for Dholpur and commanded Khan Khānān Farmuli's son, Miyan Sulaiman to march with his contingent of troops and following to Antagarh, situated on the border of Sheopur,[2] in order

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nobles who rallied under Bihjat Khan against sultan Mahmud Shah and offered the crown to Sahib Khan. In this circumstance the latter tried to strengthen his position by gaining the support of sultan Sikandar, in 918 A. H. op. cit. 589. In the following year Muharram 919 A. H. Sahib Khan assumed royal titles, when sultan Sikandar deputed S'aid Khan Lodi and 'Imad-ul-Mulk with a force to assist the Malwa prince, on condition of cession of Chanderi. As this term was not accepted by the prince, the Afghan captains retreated to their frontier. Ni'amatullah's statement about sultan Sikandar's possession of Chanderi is, therefore, unfounded. *vide*, T. A. Eng. tr. III. 592-94.

1 See note on Nagaur.

2 Same as Sheopur of the *Ain*. II. 201, having a stone-fort, situate on the Sip, a tributary of the Chambal, (Central India Gaz. 185). Situated 25°40 × 76°42, I. G.

to reinforce Husain Khan, the new convert to Islam who had previously held the name of Rai Udikaran. He offered excuses and refused to be separated from his personal attendance. The sultan marched to Bāri from this place and having transferred this *pargana* from Mubarak Khan's sons to Shaikhzada Makan, returned to Dholpur from which place he came back to capital Agra after sometime.

In accordance with the ancient usage he commanded rescripts to be issued in all directions, summoning the high emirs from the outlying posts in his dominion. Human life is unstable and earthly existence uncertain so that an illness now seized the sultan; yet in spite of his illness, he energetically attended to the duties of the state, held court and executed all transaction bearing on the administration and revenue and very often went round on horse-back. As days passed, his illness became increasingly acute. Skilled physicians— each of whom was a Galen and a Plato of his age— spared no pains in this treatment, but their efforts were of no avail. His health was totally undermined. At length the situation came to such a pass that he could neither swallow a morsel of food nor a draught of water, and his breathing was clogged. On the 7th Ziqada 923 A. H./ Sunday, 21st Nov. 1517, he passed away from this narrow perishable world[1] to the spacious mansion of the ever-lasting world.

Sikandar, ruler of the seven climes, is dead ;
Who would live, when he dies.

After his death his mortal remains were buried in a garden[2] laid

1 According to *T. F.* 186, T. A. 331, and *T. D. I.* 122, *T. S.* 64, Sikandar's death occurred on the 7th Ziqadah. Badauni places it on the 27th.

2 Niamatullah's positive statement about sultan Sikandar being buried by the side of his father sets at rest doubts about the location of his tomb. In 1871 A. C. L. Carlleyle wrote that Sikandar's remains were contained in the red sandstone mausoleum, situated east of the ornamental stone tank Guru-ka-tal, near Sikandra, Agra, (A. S. R. IV 184-85). This view was lately reiterated in *H. P. S. J.*, Agra College, 1955. But Sir Sayyid Ahmad identified Sikandar's tomb with the fine building in a walled enclosure at Khairpur, Delhi (*Asar-us. sanadid, I, 89*) Fanshawe, however, located Sultan Bahlol's tomb, at a place south of Siri, near the Shrine of Shaikh Nasiruddin *Chiragh-i-Delhi*. Fanshawe, *Delhi, Past and Present* 287-288. Sir John Marshall in *C. H. I.* III 594 doubted identity of Bahlol's tomb with the low mean building near the shrine of Shaikh Nasiruddin, and suggested that the "noble" but nameless tomb which the people of the village of Khairpur pointed to Sir Henry Sharp is really the tomb of sultan Bahlol (Sir Henry Sharp, Delhi, 65, Fanshawe, op cit. 244).

out by him at Delhi, near his father's tomb. The duration of the reign of this just and powerful monarch was 28 years and 5 months. The achievements and excellence of sultan Sikandar are not so brief as could be put into writing. A brief account of the admirable traits and qualities of this illustrious monarch is only sketched here.

Sikandar's Character and Attainments.

Sultan Sikandar was a king endowed with great physical grace and philosophical knowlege. During the spring-time of his rule, the garden of the world blossomed forth anew. In his reign there was adequate rainfall and prices were lower than they had ever been at any time. On the cradle of his rule people lived in peace, security and contentment. He was so zealous in the enforcement of the enlightened canon-law that he did not deviate a jot from the theologian's decree.

It is said that there lived a brahmin named Budhan in village Katehr.[1] Once he declared before a Muslim congregation that Islam was a true faith and his own creed was equally right. This statement circulated widely and reached the ears of Qazi Piyara and Shaikh Budh who were the leading lights among the theologians of Lucknow. They pronounced decrees which were at variance with each other. Azam Humayan, the local *hakim*, sent the brahmin in the company of the Qazi and the Shaikh to the sultan at Sambhal. As the sultan was very fond of religious debates, he summoned eminent theologians from different places such as Miyan Fāruq, Miyan Abdullah, son of Shaikh Muhammad of Delhi, Maulana Qutbuddin, Maulana Alhādād, Maulana Salih of Sirhind, Sayyid Amanullah of Samana and Sayyid Akhan of Kanauj. Those who always stayed with him, such as Sayyid Sadruddin Kanauji, Abdur Rahman of Sikri, Maulana 'Azizullah Sambhali also participated in this debate. The sultan held a grand convocation in which the whole body of theologians took part and debated on the law. After much argumentation

1 Kather-same in *T.D.* 78, *T.A.I.* 323 has Katain. But *T.A.* Ms. of the Asiatic Society, has *Katehr*. *T.F.* 182 has Katain. Col. Briggs inserts 'near Lucknow' after '*Katain*' which I do not find in the Newal Kishore copy. Variant *Kaner*. *C.H.I.* III, 240 takes it to be *Katihar* situated at present in Bihar which is wrong. The place *might* be near Lucknow, the present headquarters of U. P. govt. According to Cunningham, *A.S R.* p. 1·2, it was situated, 11 miles north-west of Jaleswar on the Gomti. In the 15th century this Lakhnau was an important place and assigned by sultan Bahlol to his grandson 'Azam Humāyun *T. F.* 178. There was a *mahal* however, of the same name كتهير in Benaras *sarkar*, during Akbar's reign. (*Ain II*, 173), Vide Elliot's *Races of the N. W. P* Beames's Ed. *II*, 110. I am inclined to favour the identification of this place with *Kather* in the Benaras *sarkar*. According to *T. D.* Budhan was executed in the year the Dholpur campaign was started, i. e. 906 AH.

there was a consensus of opinion on the point that the brahmin should be gaoled and asked to embrace Islam ; in case of refusal, he was to be executed. The sultan ordered his confinement in prison for sometime. In spite of utmost persuasion, Budhan obstinately refused to recant, for which he was executed by the sultan's command.[1] Later on the sultan conferred much favour and reward upon the aforesaid theologians and sent them back to their respective houses.

It was an admirable trait of the sultan to hold public audience everyday and personally hear all complaints. On occasions he remained so engrossed in administrative work, from morning till evening and the hour for retiring, that he performed the five daily prayers at one and the same place. During his reign the grasping hands of the zamindars of Hindustan were cut[2] short. All of them became obedient and submissive ; the strong and the weak stood on the same footing. He was very attentive to the administration of justice and never allowed himself to be swayed by impulse to any action. He was very compassionate towards his subjects whom he considered as a trust from God Almighty and highly esteemed what was true.

It is said that once when he (the sultan) was engaged in fighting his own brother, Barbak Shah, a dervish appeared in course of the encounter. He seized Sikandar's arms and said, "The victory will be yours". The sultan wrenched his hand away in disgust from the hand of the dervish who again said, "Let me make a happy augury and announce the news of your victory. Why did you snatch your hand away ?" The sultan replied, "Whenever there is fighting between two groups of Muslims, partisan declarations are unwelcome. On the contrary, only such statements should be made as ensure the general good of the Muslims and God should be invoked to grant victory to the side which will bring greatest public benefit.[3]

His benevolence was on such a scale that he ordered the faquirs and the deserving persons to submit a detailed statement of their

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1 Same version in *T. D.* 82 , *T. A.* B. I. 335, *T. F.* 186.

2 According to *W. M.* Sikandar cherished the peasantry and protected them from all kinds of violence. It is stated that "no one could take away forcibly their cattle or ploughing instruments"

3 Same version in *T. S.* 87, *T. D.* 82, *T. A.* 335. *T. F.* 186.

condition twice a year and sent them every six months a sum of money by bills of exchange in accordance with their respective needs. Whenever anybody came in search of employment, he made detailed enquiries about his pedigree[1] and employed him to a post in keeping with his social status. He made assignment of fiefs without inspecting the horse and the outfit and commanded the candidates to go back to their assignments and return with the necessary equipment from there.

His zeal for Islam surpassed all bounds. He obliterated all marks and vestiges of the idol-temples of the *kafirs*. He built an inn, a bazar, a *madrasa* and mosques in that locality in Mathura[2] which was consecrated as a bathing ground of the *kafirs*. He posted sentries to prevent them from taking dips in the water. No barber could shave their head nor could the rituals of Hindus be publicly celebrated. The procession by which Sālar Ma'sud Ghāzi's standard[3] was annually

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1 Sikandar's emphasis on birth was not necessarily the impact of Hindu environment, Gustave E. Von Grunebaum makes very pertinent remarks on this point, "The Muslim shares to a very high degree sensitivity about rank which is so characteristic of the Middle Ages. Not only is he rank conscious, but he is keenly concerned with expressing social distinctions through a delicate system of etiquette. Questions of precedence are of considerable importance". Mankind was divided into four orders by the Barmakid wazir Al Fazl bin Yahiya, (8th C A.D) 1. King 2. Wazir 3. Aristocracy of wealth 4. The middle class was connected with the above class by their culture. The rest of the population counted. for nothing *Med. Islam*, op. cit. 171.

2 According to Ferishta these structures were built at the more prominent bathing *ghāts*. If this was done, it is very doubtful that the Hindu rituals were totally banned all over the city, and all the Hindu temples destroyed. Abul Fazl says, it contains some fine temples and is one of the most famous of Hindu shrines. After the Turkish conquest of Delhi and Kanauj, the Hindus of this region hardly obtained any respite to undertake the building of large shrines. This assumption is justified by Growse's remarks, "The natural dislike of the ruling power to be brought into close personal connection with such a centre of Hindu superstition divested the town of all political importance from [the 12th to the 16th century] while the Hindu pilgrims who still continued to frequent its impoverished shrines, were not invited to present. . . any lavish donation which would only excite the jealousy of the rival faith".

3 The original word نیزه has been translated into lance and spear' (*T. A.* Eng. tr. 386) by De and Col. Briggs I, 587. I have rejected it in favour of standard which was used by the saints as a symbol in different parts of India. Fragment of such a standard which was used by a *Pir* was discovered at Belwa in North Bengal (*Modern Review*. Aug. 1950). Shah Shuja, governor of Bengal, granted the right of carrying such emblems *J. A. S. B. LXXII*. Part III, 61-64. I saw an emblem in the Barah Dargah at Pandua, *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, 100.

carried to Bahraich was banned and the pilgrimage of Muslim women to tombs was forbidden.

In his youth the sultan heard that there was a pool of water in Thaneswar[1] where the Hindus took holy bath. He enquired of the chief theologian what the canon-law decreed on this point. The theologians replied that ancient shrines might be pulled down[2] but to proscribe the time-honoured bathing at the ancient reservoir of water would not be in keeping with the law. At this the Prince laid his hand on the sword in order to strike down the theologian and exclaimed saying, "Why do you take the side of the *kafirs.* The theologian said, "I make a pronouncement in compliance with the law and do not flinch from speaking the truth." The Prince was appeased.

He appointed Quran-readers, preachers and sweepers in the mosques. throughout his dominion and assigned them salaries and stipends. Every winter he sent the faquirs clothing and shawl. Every Friday he paid them a considerable allowance of money and distributed cooked and raw food among them from various places in the city. Throughout his dominion, gifts, food and allowances were alloted to the faquirs, twice every year. During the month of Ramzan and on the 10th day of Muharram, an unlimited quantity of presents was given to the faquirs.

If you aim at leadership and greatness,
You should win the heart of the down-trodden.

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1 *T. D.* writes that the place was near Karnkhet (Kurukshetra). According to Alberuni, Kurukshetra was another name for the plain of Thaneswar, Sachau I, 308, 316, II, 147. Regarding the special sanctity of the water at Kurukshetra, *Ain.* lith. copy II, 135, *A. N.* II. 286, offer an interesting account. Thaneswar is accounted one of the most sacred places of pilgrimage. The Saraswati flows near it for which the Hindus have great veneration. Near it is a place called Kurukshetra which pilgrims from distant parts come to visit and where thy bathe and bestow charitable offerings.

تهانیسر را بزرگ معبد به شمرند و دریٔی سرستی نرد او بر گزرد - و هندی نژاد را فراوان گرایش بدو - و نزدیک ان گولابی است کرکهت نام - از دوردستها به نیایس آیند و تن شوی کنند و خیرات بدهند.

Jarrett adds in a footnote that it was an oblong sheet of water, 3546 ft. in length by 1,900. During eclipses of the moon the waters of all other tanks are believed to visit this, so that the bather is blessed by the concentrated virtues of all ablutions.

2 *T. D.* f. 36 which gives a more detailed account says that the destruction of ancient temples was not permissible and the theologian mentioned here was 'Abdullah Ajudhani, according to the same authority.

In his times learning علم[1] was cultivated with enthusiasm. The sons of the nobility and the soldiery applied themselves to the acquisition of it. The benevolent men gave away their quota of *zakat* to the faquirs and needy men, in conformity with the rules of the law.

When after sultan Bahlol's death, sultan Sikandar was summoned to the throne, he went to pay his respects to His Holiness Shaikh Sim'auddin Kambu of Delhi, the pole-star of the faith and said "I want to read the book *Mīzan-i-sarf* and shall do it in your presence." So saying he pulled it out from under his arms and placed it before the Shaikh who said, "May Almighty God bring you fortune in both worlds". "Be pleased to repeat it" said the sultan and the holy Shaikh recited it three times. He then lifted the book, kissed the hand of the Shaikh and said, "Oh! how I wished to hear such a statement from your lips." The Shaikh was highly pleased with the agreeable behaviour of the prince and said, "Nizam Khan! I have prayed to God. By His grace you will become the Alexander of your age and confer immense benefit on the people who will be happy and contented. Taking this blessing as an augury, he started on the journey and his wishes were fulfilled.

Verse :

The holy men by their sayings unravel the destiny,
Their minds are akin to recording tablet and pen ;
Their approval ensures eternal felicity,
Their disapproval causes lasting damnation.

Whoever among the nobles and courtiers assigned stipends and land to the faquirs[2] and the indigent persons, was esteemed by the

1 علم—is the broadest word in Arabic for knowledge. Goldziher however drew a distinction between Ilm and fiqh according to which Ilm denoted a knowledge of definite things, such as Quran, tafsir and Ahkam, *S. E. I.* 168, *Med. Islam.* op. cit. 145.

2 The faquirs were presumably mendicants rather than friars who went about preaching, comforting and consoling the faithful. The Afghan king's liberality to them would best be understood by reference to the honour Islam has given to the ideal of فقر poverty. Prophet Muhammad led a very simple life which became the standard of conduct for his closest associates.

"The poor would enter the paradise 500 days before the rich and these 500 days were half of one of God's days."

sultan who used to say "You have laid a beneficent foundation which will suffer no loss." He had such an efficient intelligence service that he knew details about the private household affairs of the soldiery and ryots and even of those who lived single[1] without any attendant. For this reason it was believed that the sultan was a friend of the genii who obtained news for him through invisible sources.

1 This saying has been attributed to Muhammad. He is also said to have declared that he would stand at the door of the paradise and that most of those who would enter would be poor. *Mishkat-ul-Masabih* XXII, 1. XXIV, 2. Quoted in Margaret Smith's, *Early Mysticism*, 126, 134, Poverty and sanctity, writes T. W. Arnold, are so far synonymous, that the most effective counterfeit of the saint is the faquir or beggar, a term which still serves to indicate the saint, but is also too commonly made to denote beggars." *E. R. E.* XI, 66.

Sikandar's Justice : The fable of the two-faced lamp.

Apropos narrators of old stories and reconteurs of ancient tales tell an anecdote. During Sikandar's reign, a certain person began digging the foundation of his house. During the excavation of the ground, a lamp with four faces was discovered. The landowner ordered it to be taken care of, as it would look well in the lamp-room. At night-fall the lamp was lighted. As soon as it was lit, two spirits appeared. The landowner asked, "Who are you ? We are the guardian-spirits of the lamp. Whenever it is lighted we are at your back and call and shall do your bidding even at the cost of our lives." The fellow who was passionately in love with merchant's daughter told them about his desire saying, "I am mad in love for the merchant's daughter. Can that beautiful girl be brought here so that I may satisfy my desire." They replied, "It shall be done in a moment, nay in the twinkling of an eye." Soon the two spirits brought the girl and her couch too and he had the pleasure of sleeping with her. In this fashion the girl was brought to him every night and afterwards taken back. All kinds of thing such as ready money, valuables, pearls from the sea and gold from the mine, were brought to him in such great quantities for disposal that such treasures could be owned only by kings. A long time passed like this. Once the father said to his daughter, "You seem to be very pale and ill." She told him that it was a matter which she could only speak about to her mother. Eventually she told her mother the whole thing saying, "Every night two spirits appear and carry me on the couch to another house where a certain person makes passionate love to me !" When the mother heard the whole- story from her daughter, she immediately told her husband about it. The merchant was known to the king and laid the matter before him saying "In the just kingdom of Your Majesty, such a thing is happening and I implore you to investigate the matter." The sultan summoned the town-kotwal and asked him to make a full investigation into the matter. After a few days the kotwal petitioned sultan Sikander saying that inspite of the utmost search, he could not get a clue to the matter. The sultan in his lucid mind thought of a trick. He ordered the kotwal to instruct the girl to take along with her a phial of saffron to the place where she was carried and sprinkle it upon the robe of the man during the act of union, so that she would be able to recognize the person at daybreak. She did accordingly and on reaching the place, poured the saffron on the man's head. Two spirits, thereupon, cast it on everybody's head. When next morning the sultan got up

from bed, he found that the robes of his servants were dyed with saffron. The people were utterly confounded. The sultan again ordered that the girl should carry a cup of perfume next time and sprinkle it on the man's garments, when they were alone together. So when she was taken next, she threw it upon the man's clothing. At this the guardian-spirits of the lamp showered the perfume on everybody's dress and all people were thrown into the greatest surprise. As no other course than forbearance and kindness was now open, the sultan ordered a proclamation to be made in the town saying, "I shall reward him who possesses this magical skill and appears before me, in the following way. If he is a beggar, he will be exalted to the rank of a 12-hazārı." It was affirmed by the Quranic oath. When the landowner found that he had slowly accumulated such riches as had made him free from all wordly care, he thought within himself that he could now become an emir of the court. So he went to the royal place with the lamp and reported that the person whom His Majesty was in search of, had arrived. He was ordered to be ushered in the royal presence. After he had attained the honour of kissing the feet of His Majesty, the sultan, he exhibited the lamp saying that the mysterious affair was caused by it and as he lighted it before the sultan, the two guardian-spirits immediately stepped out and offered the services of their skill.[1] It is said that the strange deeds of the sultan were due to the fact that the guardian-spirits kept him supplied with information from every nook and corner. God knows the truth of it.[2] (الله اعلم بحقيقة)

Whenever he sent his troops to any place, he sent daily two *farmans* to the army-commanders—one in the morning directing them to halt at a certain place after the march, and the other at the end of the day with instruction to do certain things. He never caused this rule to be violated and post-horses were always kept ready along the

1 Prof. Hodiwala suggests that this particular fable is an old apologue borrowed from the inexhaustible story of Hindu folk-lore (*S. I. M. H.* 467).

2 A. G. Wensinck in his book *Muslim Creed* quotes a tradition from Muslim to the effect that it is proof of a man's insight (fiqh) that he says Allah a'lam (God knows best) in matters of which he has no knowledge.

route. When the *farmān* reached the chiefs, they received it by advancing two or three koss. The bearer who carried it kept it on the rostrum erected for the purpose and the chiefs respectfully lifted it with their hands from the foot of the dais and placed it on their head.[1] In accordance with the nature of the command, it was either recited on the very spot or from the pulpit or if it was meant exclusively for any one of them, he read it privately. In short, whatever the command was, it was obeyed in every way.

The sultan received daily an index of prices and inventory of events from the *parganas* within his dominion. If any trifle of a thing which was bad or inconsistent with the canon-law, reached his ears, he ordered an immediate enquiry into it. He kept himself always occupied with the settlement of disputes and litigation, organization of the kingdom and promotion of public welfare. He executed all his affairs with discernment, keenness and penetrating insight.

It is said that two brothers who lived at Gwalior, being in utter penury and distress, joined the sultan's army (in a campaign) against a certain territory. In course of plunder, gold ingots, some pearls and two precious rubies fell into their hands. One of them said, "All my aspiration is fulfilled and I shall not have to suffer any disgrace. I have achieved my object. I shall go back to my house, and live there comfortably." The other brother said, "As God has favoured us with this booty on the first occasion, he might grant us more on the second." The first brother said, that he would not go to any other place. Thereupon they divided the booty between themselves. The elder of the two entrusted his share to the younger one, in order to make it over to his wife. When he went back to his house, he gave his sister-in-law full quota of the booty except the rubies. When the elder brother returned home after sometime, he made enquiries and as the ruby was missed, he asked what had become of it. His brother said that he had given it to his wife, but the elder brother replied that his wife had not received it. "She is telling lies and you

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1 *T. D.* f. 81 says on the point "Whenever he sent the army on a distant expedition, it was the practice of the sultan to send daily two *farmans* (1) one in the morning planning the march from a particular place to another encampment with details about the characteristics of the place and (2) another at the end of the day containing certain other directions. For the efficiency of the intelligence service, vide *T. D.* 84. *T. F.* 187, refers to the اسپان داک چوکی horses for running royal post.

should correct her," said the younger brother. At this the elder brother rebuked the poor woman upon which she asked him to grant her one night's respite, in which to produce them. On the morrow she went to the house of the wazir Miyan Bhuā, who was an eminent grandee, courtier, chief justice of the realm and a highly sagacious person and narrated to him the whole story. Miyan Bhuā caused her husband and the younger brother of the latter to be produced before him and interrogated them. The younger brother said that he had given the ruby to his sister-in-law. Miyan Bhua said, "Can you produce any witness in support of it ?" He replied in the affirmative and said in answer to his query that the witnesses are two brahmins. The wazir ordered them to be summoned to his presence. Thereupon the fellow went to a gambling-den and bribing two of the gamblers, taught them how they were to give evidence. Having attired them in neat clothing, he produced them in the court of justice. After both of them had deposed, Miyan Bhuā asked the elder brother to go and force his wife to give him the ruby. The wife went from the wazir's court to the royal court of justice and placed her petition. The sultan summoned her and having ascertained the whole state of affairs enquired why she had not gone to Miyan Bhuā. She said that she had gone there but her case had not received proper attention. The sultan commanded the brothers and the witnesses to be produced but ordered to keep them apart. Having summoned them he gave each of them a piece of wax and asked them to make a cast of the ruby. The two brothers made identical casts, whereas those made by the witnesses varied in shape. In spite of pressing requests, the woman failed to make a cast of the ruby which she had never seen and she persisted in her refusal. The sultan now made Miyan Bhua the intermediary and warned the witnesses to speak the truth on pain of death. At this they made a frank disclosure of the facts. The sultan summoned the younger brother and put him in confinement who thereupon produced the rubies along with other things before the sultan. The poor woman was exonerated from all blame because of the wisdom and perspicacity of the sultan which now became known to all.[1]

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1 Vide this story in *T. A.* B. I. 388-89. *T. F.* 187-188 and *W. M. B. M. Ms.*

The sultan had a great taste for Persian poetry در شعرفارسی سلیقه تمام داشت and recited it beautifully. He had the pen-name of *Gul-Rukhi* گلرخی (Rose-faced). When he heard that the eminent saint and mystic Shaikh Jamāl Kambu had arrived at Delhi after travelling across Trans-Oxiana, Iraq, Khurasan, Azarbaijan, Roum, Syria and Arabia and that poetry was discussed most of the time in his gatherings, he became very keen on a meeting with the holy Shaikh. He composed a poem, wrote it out in his own hand and sent it from Sambhal to Delhi, inviting the Shaikh to his presence. He also begged for a copy of the *Mihir-o-Māh* مہر و ماہ containing the moral precepts of this eminent person of noble descent. The following are the lines of sultan Sikandar.[1]

Oh ! Jamali, the store-house of eternal wealth,
The wayfarer in the path of faith.
You went round the world,
And have come back happy to your home.
You are the traveller of the age,
It is an excellent thing that you have returned to your country.
You went round Mecca and Medina,
You had been a jewel but now turned into a full treasury.
Perhaps, the shaikh has become sick of friends,
For which he makes delay in meeting friends.
"*Mihir-o-Māh*" is the book you have composed,
I wish you would send it to me.
Q Shaikh ! come to me swiftly,
You have travelled so widely.
Wend your steps towards this court,
You will receive from *Gul Rukhi* what you want.
My mind is astir at the thought of seeing you.
Like birds singing in the trees.
I am Sikandar ! you are my Khizr,[2]
How nice it would be, if you come to me.
I may lose the sight of my eyes by the glaze of the sun,
But the moon of your face will not be remote from me.

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1 *Tarikh-i Shahi*, 47-48, partly reproduces the following verses.

2 Khizr, Khwaja, mentioned as the saint who presided over the well of immortality. The name was naturalised in India, and Hindus as well as Muslims reverence him" For more details, *vide* S. Ency. Islam, 235.

This letter is in possession of Shaikh's descendants. On perusing this letter the Shaikh said, "What need has a faquir for association with the wealthy. As the thoughts of this great man soared high like an eagle in the sky, he took slight notice of the failings of this mean world and sent a rhymed letter to the sultan along with the book, '*Mihir-o-Mah*'. When the sultan read the book and letter of the holy Shaikh, he became more eager for a meeting with him and his yearning increased a thousandfold. He then wrote another letter to the Pole-star among the saints, Shaikh Sim'auddin Kambu, his religious preceptor and guide who had given his daughter in marriage to Shaikh Jamāii, requesting him to send away the Shaikh to his court by any means that could be devised. The Shaikh gave due consideration to the matter and by utmost persuasion set the Shaikh on the journey to sultan Sikandar's court saying, "The faquir's interview with the sultan is an unusual event which occurs as a consequence of the divine grace and people have their desire fulfilled by the fervour of their piety." His holiness the Shaikh started for Sambhal from Delhi. As he came to the neighbourhood of this city, the sultan met him by advancing two to three *koss*, in order to gain the benefit of his company. They were drawn towards each other by such a bond of intimacy that anything stronger than this could not be fancied and this friendship and cordiality, companionship and association, continued until the end of sultan's life and when he died, His holiness the Shaikh composed in his praise elegies. Strophe-poems and threnodies were also ordered to be set down in writing, so that the learned and pious men recited them for sometime and shed blood rather than tear from their eyes. These heart-throbbing poems are found until now included in the *Diwans* of Shaikh Jamāli.[1]

When after the extinction of the Lodi dynasty three members of whom ruled Delhi for seventy-seven years, the reins of authority passed into the strong hand of the Sur kings in 946 A.H./1540, Islam Shah Sur, son of Sher Shah built the mausoleum of the two mighty

1 *T. S.* 46-47, offers a similar account. For Shaikh Jamāli's association with his great contemporary 'Abdur Rahman Jami, *vide M. T.* 325. According to him Jamali's *diwan* consisted of eight to nine thousand couplets and he was the author of a memoir of saints called *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, ibid, 325-326. I have not yet been able to discover any copy of Jamali's *Diwany*.

rulers in the garden of Jud[1] and is now a place frequented by musicians and learned men, اهل سرور و اهل عرفان.

It is said that once Qutb-ul-'Azam (eminent pole-star) Shaikh Simauddin Kambu went on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Qutb-ul-Ālam, Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiyār Kāki. As he passed by the tombs of these two monarchs famed for justice, he went inside their sepulchre on his way back and after reciting the *Fạtiha*, sat absorbed in meditation for a while. After sometime he lifted up his head animated and inspired and exclaimed saying, "Praise be to Allah ! As the father and son were blessed with success and prosperity in this world, so may they enjoy in this abode happiness and joy, peace and tranquility."

Sultan Sikandar's death was followed by an internecine strife. All his regulations were undone. Low and mean persons won ascendancy over the high and the noble and caused disorder and disturbance. The administrative and financial affairs were thrown into total disorder. Although sultan Ibrāhim devised ways and adopted measures to rectify matters, those steps unwittingly caused the undoing of his sultanate. Everybody in his respective fief hatched schemes of personal ambition and aggrandisement and sultan Ibrāhim's vaunted efforts were futile, leading eventually to a chain of events which will be narrated in the following pages. God is the giver of success and our friend. He knows what is just and true.

1 This statement again shows that the remains of sultan Bahlol and sultan Sikandar were buried side by side at Delhi, for Islam Shah had no love for Agra having turned Gwalior into his head-quarters for sometime. M. A. copy of the Udaipur Saraswati Library Ms .p 15 says.

اسلم شاه بن شیر شاه عمارت مقبره ایشان در باغ جود بناکرد والحال جای نزول
ارباب سرور و اهل عرفان است

Almost identical words in M. A. excepting باغ خود

Anecdotes about the early life of sultan Sikandar, summarised from *M. A. L. U. Ms*, pp. 139-45 and *Tārikh-i-Salātin-i-Afaghina* alias *Tārikh-i-Shāhi*

Prince Nizām Khan was appointed as the *hakim* of Delhi under the guardianship of Qutlugh Khan, the Sharqi wazir who was taken captive by sultan Bahlol and later on won over by kind treatment. The prince was put in charge of Delhi at the instance of his mother, Bibi Ambha, daughter of a goldsmith. At the time of his appointment he was granted a retinue of only 100 horsemen.

Acting under the advice of Qutlugh Khan, the prince at first ingratiated himself with some of the courtiers of sultan Bahlol. He freely mixed with their sons who lived at Delhi and made gifts to them of robes and horses. As he reached boyhood, he began practising arms. He was tutored by Qutlugh Khan, the wazir of Jaunpur who was taken prisoner by Bahlol, in royal duties. Acting under his instruction, he acquired from his father by various subterfuges, the means of recruiting a small force. It is said that he first indulged his boyish pranks by plundering the sweet-meat stalls of Delhi. On the shopkeepers' complaint, the king expressed displeasure at his son's conduct, but granted him a sum of money to pay compensation to the injured persons. The prince distributed this sum among the footsoldiers and horsemen under him and then raided the rebel villages round Delhi. The increasing resource of the prince was disliked by Qutb Khan Lodi, the Afghan chief, who openly remonstrated against the high-handed proceedings of the prince. The sultan, however, overlooked them. He ascribed the prince's restlessness to his hankering for a *jagir*, and assigned him in fief Palam and other villages round Delhi.

Shortly after this event, the Sarwāni Afghans of Samānā, harassed by Fath Khan, foefee of Sirhind, petitioned the prince for redress. The prince readily took up arms and marched with a contingent of 500 cavalry and a body of footmen. He was reinforced, on his way, by the *jagirdars* of the region round Hisar. Fath Khan, in spite of his immense superiority in arms, fled, leaving his army behind which was easily routed by the prince. The day following his defeat Fath Khan was discovered in a well; he was taken out and killed. About six months after this event, Bahlol died near Kol-Jalali and events followed which led to the prince's elevation to the throne under the title of sultan Sikandar.

Anecdotes of Sikandar's marksmanship and conduct of war in early life, as sketched in the *Tārikh-i-Shāhi*.

In the seventh year of Bahlol's reign, a son endowed with an auspicious omen and august signs was born to him. When this blessed star appeared, the astrologers, by command, reported to the sultan by a study of the position of the stars, that this prince of high fortune who had seen light at such an auspicious hour, would freshen the garden of sovereignty with verdure and brightness.

Sultan Bahlol was delighted at this news and arranged an entertainment when this shining light became manifest to the eyes. As the affairs were in complete order, he conferred on his son the distinctive name of Miyan Nizām. Early in his life he was alloted a separate residence and court. Once the sultan sent for him thinking that as he had resolved on an expedition against the Rana, he should take an augury from the marksmanship of the prince. If his arrow hit the target, he could be confident of victory. He drew the prince to his side and asked him to strike the flower on the twig. The prince, like Jupitar, set his hand to the bow and tossed it off the twig in such a way that the twig did not quiver. The sultan was very happy to see this. He kissed the forehead of this tender plant of the bower of sovereignty and assigned to him the *sarkar* of Sirhind.

During the reign of sultan Bahlol, Tātār Khan and Yusuf Khan who respectively held the *subahs* of Lahore and Multan rebelled and forcibly seized some *parganas* belonging to the crown domain. On this occasion Nizām Khan had been at Pānipat. He gave two to three villages (from the crown-lands ?) to his servants. This news reached the sultan who wrote to His Excellency Shaikh S'aid Farmuli saying "It must have been done at your instance. If you are brave enough. why don't you seize the territory of Tātar Khan and others ?" Shaikh Sa'id carried the royal letter to the prince who exclaimed saying, "It is an excellent idea." The Shaikh too concurred, and read out the royal letter to him. The prince said that it was a very strange letter that he had brought. S'aid Farmuli said, "Sovereignty does not come gratuitously to anybody. The sultan, recognising you to be superior. among your brothers in swordsmanship, aimed at giving you the kingship of Delhi, if you could accomplish this work. Rise to the occasion and try your luck." At this time the prince had a body of five hundred horsemen under him.

Firstly, he deployed this body of men to the territory of Tatar Khan

in order to plunder two to three *parganas*. Tatar Khan, being informed, marched at the head of a large army. From the opposite side, the prince reached the *parganas* of Ambala. Both the armies were drawn up on the following day. Fully accoutred, the prince turned towards the field, when stalwarts, eager for action, surrounded him and marched ahead. Meanwhile Shaikh S'aid glanced at the prince twice or thrice. The prince said to him, "What are you looking at ?" The Shaikh said, "The youths forming a ring round you are rushing forward. If you hold ground firmly as a leader, I am confident of victory. Be careful to watch how these men fight. If God Almighty ends the matter in accordance with your desire, well and good ; otherwise ride away as swift as the wind. None will be able to overtake you." The prince laughed and said, "I see your horse stamping on the ground with its feet but I expect to see my horse drenched in blood from its feet to the hip." His Excellency S'aid Farmuli dismounted and kissed the foot of the prince saying, "This is the token of victory and ability in leadership."

Afterwards the battle was joined. Dariya Khan first rode his horse to the field. In agreement with thirty other persons, the Khan resolved to gallop between the two lines and draw thirty swords at a place where a single scimitar was uplifted. Five hundred cavaliers advanced to oppose them from the other side. The hour of action grew so warm that the swords emitted sparks of fire. Dariya Khan overpowered this body of five hundred men. By means of vigorous exertions he thrice repulsed a large body of Tatar Khan's horsemen and personally took up their places. On the fourth occasion no knights came forward from the side of Tatar Khan. Dariya Khan said, "Awe and fear of me and my good luck have created some impression. Let all of you stay where you are. I singly shall attack them." In short, Dariya Khan attacked them three times and returned safely.

Afterwards Husain Khan marched with a contingent of 700 troops out of the ranks of the prince's army. One thousand and five hundred men flung themselves in three successive waves upon Husain Khan who won the day in the same way as Dariya Khan had done. 'Umar Khan said, "A thousand blessings upon you ! Dariya Khan has done a deed for which all men are praising him. Now give a chance to your brethren."

At this time 'Umar Khan Sarwani spurred his horse from the

presence of his father and said, "For[1] God's sake and out of fidelity to the prince, please sally forth with your horses. 'Umar Khan said, 'Why should we." Ibrahim Khan replied, "Just as you saw Dariya Khan and Miyan Hasain Khan in action, so should you see us in combat." Saying so, he rode singly among the fifteen thousand enemy horse two to three times and on each occasion knocked down ten to twelve picked cavaliers from their mounts on the ground. Having seen it, 'Umar Khan, with his own contingent, fell upon Tatar Khan and defeated the body of fifteen thousand horsemen. Tatar Khan was slain; his nephew Husain Khan taken prisoner and the rest of the army fled. The prince now rode to the field and knelt down in thankfulness to God, the giver of victories. The victory roused apprehension and panic among the rebels. The prince honoured the warrior, who had so[2] led the field, with gifts. Sultan Bahlol was full of praise for Nizām Khan when the memorandum of victory reached him. He esteemed him as the best of his son., and made him happy by the gift of *sar-o-pā*, ten horses of Arabic breed, five elephants and the title of heir apparent.

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1. درای of the text is amended to برای
2. رستمی to رسمی

An Estimate of sultan Sikander's character and qualities as sketched in the Ms of Tarikh-i-Daudi.

Sultan Sikandar ascended the throne in his 18th year[1] and was styled Sikandar Ghazi. He was a powerful monarch, endowed with qualities of mildness, eminently benevolent, highly dignified and refined. In adorning and decorating, ceremonial riding and dressing he was irreproachable. He allowed nothing base, ignoble and mean to come near his camp. His favourites were the theologans علما and pious men صلحا. He possessed full knowledge of the phenomenal world and esoteric learning. He was God-fearing and benevolent to his subjects. He was a paragon of bravery and justice in the administration of which, he placed the strong and the weak on an equal fooling. He was constanty busy in adjudicating disputes and cases, supervising the administration of the kingdom and securing the well-being of his subjects. He held court every day and personally took up the cause of any afflicted person. From the hour of the mid-day prayer till the last prayer at night, he stayed in the company of the theologians and recited the great book (Koran). He said his prayer in congregation. When the prayer performed two or three hours after sunset was over, he retired to his harem. Having stayed there for sometime, he went into a private room and spent the whole night in vigil, but had the midday siesta. At the very place where he sat during the night, he met the wants of the needy and administered justice ; while a part of the night was devoted to supervising the administration of the kingdom, issuing despatches to the emirs on the frontier and letters to the contemporary kings.[2] Seventeen distinguished theologians and learned men attended privately upon the sultan in his palace. Six hours before the end of night, he called for his dinner. These seventeen persons sat with their hands washed before the sultan who sat on a couch with a big table (كرسى) in front, on which were kept plates of food. The sultan himself ate, while these seventeen scholars had their meals served before them. There was no permission for them to eat. When the king had finished his meal, they took away the dishes to their respective houses and ate them. It is narrated by knowledgeable persons that the sultan took a particular thing of

1 T. D.'s statement is refuted by M. A. T. A. According to them Sikandar had six sons at the time of accession, which implies more advanced years.

2 This statement contradicts the previous one referring to the sultan's night-long vigil.

pleasure and relaxation as a medicinal tonic in privacy for the exhileration of his spirit, in a decent and refined way, without letting anybody know.

He built mosques in all the provinces بلاد and territories ممالک under his rule and appointed Koran-readers, *khatibs*, and sweepers. and assigned stipends to them. He sent clothing and shawl every winter to the faquirs and on weekly service-day جمعہ he paid them a weekly stipend. Every day cereals were cooked and distributed from certain places in the city. On sacred occasions, e. g. the month of Ramzan and tenth day of the month of Muharram, he made the faquirs and the dervishes happy and cherished them with gifts and favour befitting a king. He asked the faquirs and the deserving persons to submit detailed statements of their respective positions twice every year and had them given a six-monthly block sum in his presence in proportion to their respective rank.

During his reign nobles and shaikhs emigrated from Arabia, Persia and various parts of India to Delhi and Agra, attracted by his liberality and sympathy and settled there. He spent most of his time at Agra. Agriculture was flourishing in his reign. Various classes of traders, ryots and all classes of people lived in utmost peace and tranquility. He enquired of everybody who came to him for employment about the lineage and pedigree of the elders of his family and assigned allowances to him in accordance with the status of the elders (of his family). He granted assignments, without inspecting the horse and accoutrements and bade him secure the necessary equipment from the particular assignment. In his reign a soldier (knight) commanded great prestige. There prevailed security of roads all over his dominion to such an extent that no trace was left of theft or highway robberies throughout the territories under his jurisdiction.

He gave lands in his kingdom to large bodies of *kafirs* who became submisstive to Islam تابع اسلام. He issued orders for the killing or expulsion from his territory of rebels and those who were stubborn in hostility, as enemies of the state. In no village was the mud fortress called *Matkota* left standing and the surrounding moats and jungles were destroyed.

His zeal for Islam was so ardent that all the temples of the Hindus were razed to the ground and all trace of them was obliterated. In Mathura, that mine of unbelief, no trace of the monuments of the *kafirs* was left standing. He commanded a caravansera and a *madrasa*

(seminary of Islamic learning) to be built on the hallowed site of Hindu worship. The stone-idols[1] worshipped by the Hindus were given away to the butchers, by command of the sultan, to turn them into weights for weighing meat. In Mathura he issued an order forbidding the Hindus to shave their heads and to bathe. In short, he stamped out all the religious rites of the *kafirs*. If any Hindu was inclined to shave his head and beard, no barber would lift a finger to do it.

Every town conformed to the practices of Islam in such a way, as the sultan desired. In every quarter محلہ prayers took place in congregation. Whether in the nobleman's or the plebeian household, everywhere the pursuit of learning علم was practised. In the age of Sikandar the craftsmen were highly skilled. The wealthy realised the merits of good works in such a way that they vied with one another in making charitable foundations and spent large sums on this count. Sultan Sikandar commanded royal revenue to be assigned in every town for the meritorious persons. A large corporation of righteous men was appointed for this purpose, so that having ascertained the facts they might make disbursements among the

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1 The idols pounded into stone evidently belonged to Mathura. Shaikh Rizqullah and Ahmad Yadgar, however, refer to the idols of Nagarkot having been so treated.

Shaikh Rizqullah writes,

ان سنگ را کافران می پرستیدند بقصابان سپردند تا سنگ ترازوی یا سنگ خود کنند

W. M. B. M. Ms. 62, the translator's ed. text 91

Ahmad Yadgar says

سنگ نگرکوت که عالمی را اواره ساخته اورده بقصابان داده بود که وزن گوشت بکنند

T. S. B. I. 47

... .

Ahmad Yadgar's remarks about Sikandar's iconoclasm are very sweeping.

در عهد او کافران مجال نداشتند که بت پرستی نمایند و یا باب غسل تواند کرد ـ اصنام
را در عهد میمون او در زیر خاک داشته بودند

T. S. B. I. 46

A similar achievement of reducing the fragments of the images of the temple of Kumbhalmer is attributed to sultan Mahmud Khilji of Malwa.

عمارت بتخانها را فرمود تاپر ازهیزم ساخته اتش دادند ـ بتان را شکسته بقصابان
داد تا سنگ ترازوی گوشت فروشی سازند.

T. A. B. I, III, 325

desirable persons. As regards rent-free tenure and lands granted in perpetuity, he penned a decree directing the emirs to have it recorded in the respective *farmans* that their assignment in a particular *pargana* subdivision excluded lands granted as allowance املاک وظایف. By a single stroke of his pen the sultan freed all the rent-free lands under his jurisdiction and *no* holder of *aima* عیما (rent-free-tenure) felt the need of a new *farman* nor did he make any settlement with the emir. Every *aima* holder settled his account with his own tax-collector عمال and came to the office دیوان خانه of the wazir to have his account verified[1]. From the villages of the *pargana*, no cattle could be taken away by force and violence.

The emirs to whom *farmans* were issued were obliged to advance two to three *koss* in order to greet them. At that particular place a platform was erected. Those who carried the *farman* placed it on the dais. The nobles had to stand below it and respectfully hold the *farman* with both their hands and gently rub it on their head and eyes. In compliance with the command it was either read on the very spot or carried to the house. If the word was to read it in private, it was done accordingly.

Every year the standard نیزه of Sālar Masud Ghazi was taken in procession throughout his dominion. This practice was also forbidden. The sultan forbade the pilgrimage of women to the tombs.

The cheapness of cereals, silk-fabric and other goods was such during his reign as enabled people to sustain themselves on scanty produce. On the day of Id, tenth day of Muharram, and anniversary of the Prophet's death, there was a standing order to draw up a list of the names of the prisoners and deliver it to the sultan's hands. He wrote with his own hand the order of release against the name (of the person) confined on the score of revenue transactions معامله مالی. If any aggrieved person cried out for redress, when the sultan was out for riding, the latter, immediately at the sight of him, demanded to know who the man was ; the vakils took the man by the hand and comforted him in a thousand ways. Once the sultan granted an assignment to anybody, he would not remove him, so long as lapses in his conduct were not visible. If any person was

1 This is the rendering warranted by the Persian passage, though it is construed differently in *E. H. I.* IV. 448.

found to have committed a grave dereliction of duty, he would withold all gifts from him, but he would never cast him down from the position of honour and responsibility nor lessen his attention towards him.

If any musician or singer, all be it peerless in the science of music, came to him, he did not grant him a hearing in his presence. Two notables, Miran Sayyid Ruhulla and Sayyid-ibn-i-Rasulullah stayed, by command, at the side of the sultan's palace. People who came with this end from different places, gave recitals before them which were also heard by the sultan. The players of the flute, called by the name of *Shah-nay*, attended the court every night at the passage of the first quarter of the night and played their instruments[1]. They could not play any other melody than the following four 1. Malikur 2. Kalyān 3. Kānera 4. Kānera Husaini which closed the performance for the night. Playing of any other tune was punished.

Every work had its appointed time. Any practice that was well-established was never violated. In all his actions and sayings he was a model, excepting the fact that he shaved his beard. When he alloted provision to any person, he never made any reduction in it until the last day of his life. Apart from food, he never, until the close of his reign, made any alteration in the gift which was made by him to anybody, whether it was food or clothing.

It is said that when an eminent man Shaikh 'Abdul Ghani came from Jaunpur to interview the sultan during the summer season, varieties of food were alloted to him. As the season was warm, six jugs of sherbet too were sent to him. The same was regularly supplied to him even when he chanced to come during the cold weather. He never made any alteration in the rank assigned on the first day of interview to the great and eminent nobles, whether they visited him after the lapse of years or continued daily attendance upon him.

The sultan was also moderate in his conversation. Every emir who was assigned a place for standing (in court) always stood at the very spot. He had a highly retentive memory. He daily received an account of prices and occurrences from the *parganas* and provinces

1 Vide the account of Sikandar's interest in music, *T. S. B.* I. 48. and *W. M.* B. M. Ms. It is suggested that this مالی‌کور might be مالی‌کوش.

رایس. If any indecent thing was brought to his notice, he immediately ordered an investigation into it.

... ...

During the age of Sikandar God Almighty had lavished his bounty in the shape of abundant gifts and blessings on the world and its inhabitants so that other ages, with all their plenitude and treasures, could not match his. During his reign virtuous acts, rectitude, honest and straightforward dealings gained currency. They were practised on such a scale that among high and low polite manners ادب[1] modesty, forbearance, honesty and integrity become the rule. In no other age did they prevail on such a scale.

During the age of Sikandar, no other subject than etymology صرف syntax نحو and knowledge of religion and jurisprudence فقه acquired vogue but the merit of integrity and honesty outweighed anything else.

Work in the workshops of instruction کارخانۂ علمیت was carried on with such zeal that the sons of the nobility and the soldiers applied themselves to the acquisition of learning به کسب فضایل By command of the sultan, a remarkable book was compiled on the science of medicine by translating the (Ayur) Vedic treatises under the supervision of Miyan Bhua and given the name of *Tibb-i-Sikandari*. It became the basic source of pharmacopoeia for the physicians of Hind and exists as a memorial of the sultan.

It is narrated that sultan Sikandar had six sons ; a. Ibrahim Khan, his eldest son who ascended the throne after him under the title of sultan Ibrahim and whom the pen of distiny appointed sultan, b. Jalal Khan who became king of Jaunpur under the title of sultan Jalaluddin, c. Ismāil Khan, d, Husain Khan, e. Mahmud Khan, f. Azam Humayun,

How is it possible to give an account of the renowned emirs who displayed great pomp and were unequalled for their acts of courage and self sacrifice. During his reign countless emirs belonging to the Afghan tribe had gathered round him. He spared no pains in

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1 ادب Von Grunebaum says, is an educational concept that "proposed to mould the individual as a whole and to regulate the form of his social relations as well as the style and ethics of his professional activities. The word, whatever its components, is characterised by compliance with a code of behaviour, *Med. Islam* 259.

educating the Afghan chiefs and his own clansmen. The emirs who granted stipends and lands in perpetuity معاش to the needy محتاج were esteemed by the sultan who used to say "you have laid the foundation of a thing چیزی which will never diminish". His nephews (brother's sons) had also no equals in bravery and generosity. The entire body of nobility and soldiers was highly contented. Each member of the nobility held charge of a large territorial domain, but the sultan from a sentiment of general welfare, devoted his efforts to the protection and security, welfare and happiness of the subjects.

The knights سپہ and the nobles امرا abandoned their private warfare against the nobles and conflict with the slaves مملوک of the time (for which reason) the road of disorder and unrest was closed. They chose to remain content with the extent of assignment اقطاع ملک which was inherited from their fathers and passed their life in the greatest security and happiness.[1]

1 The rendering of this para is entirely different in *E. H. I.* IV. 451 "He put an end to war and disputes with the other *monarchs* and nobles of the period and closed the road of contention and strife. He contented himself with the territory bequeathed him by his father and passed the whole of his life in the greatest safety and enjoyment." This translation hardly conveys any sense. Sikandar's reign was *full of* warfare, and he did not remain content with the inheritance from his father"
I reject Elliot's translation—"Factory establishments were so encouraged that all the young nobles and soldiers were engaged in useful works" *E. H. I.* IV. 450

Anecdote about sultan Sikandar's love of justice as sketched in the W. M. B. M. Ms. Add II, 633 and Or 1929

He (sultan Sikandar) was so just that no master مالک could maltreat any slave (مملوک). From the early morning hour till the first quarter of the night, the vakil, Dariya Khan Nuhāni, was present in the pavilion of the court of justice چبوترہ دیوان عدالت to render justice and to enquire about the suitors (مطالبان). The qazi versed in canon-law شرع and twelve venerable theologians endowed with knowledge of phenomenal things and secular learning remained present inside the office of the private secretary of the sultan, اندرون دبیر خاص in order to pronounce decrees in conformity with the sentence قطیه. After they had given their decision in accordance with the law, information was sent to the sultan. The statements of both the parties, made either in the wazir's court of justice or in the presence of the *ulema* were reported to the sultan. Pages were appointed for this purpose, who attended from morning till the rising of the court and reported by turns the statement (made by the parties).[1]

One day a Sayyid who was an inhabitant of the town of Ul reported that Malih Turk, holder of the above *pargana* رجدار پرگنه had taken possession of his well-defined land[2] زمین محدود باز اورده and was not yielding it. He was ordered to file a suit in the wazir's court, so that after investigation into the matter, he might have justice.[3] The case dragged out for two months and was not concluded by any means. The statements of both the parties were daily reported to the sultan. After two months the sultan said that they had failed to decide a case within two months, and if they could not conclude it on the very day, they must quit [4] The *Ulema* attending the court investigated and scrutinised the facts from morning till the third quarter of the night when the findings were completed and truth was found out at the very bottom. It was discovered that Malih Turk was guilty and the

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1 Ms. or 1929, f 24

2 Ms Add II, 633 has زمین املاک ما از تعدی متصرف شده

3 Ms. Add II, 633 خاطر نشان نمایند Ms or 1929 has اظهار نمایند (for finding out the true fact) f 25.

4 Ms or 1929 has هیچ کس ازان جا نروند none would be allowed to go (i. e. they would be detained).

Sayyid wronged. The sultan said, "I had issued an order[1] saying that nobody was to molest and do wrong to another". It was also stated in the order that nobody was to encroach on lands granted as stipend which were to be set apart from this assignment. Why did you violate this order ?" In shame he could not lift his head and said. "I have committed an offence." The sultan again issued an order saying that Malih should make a confession thrice declaring that he was guilty and the wrong-doer and that the Sayyid had rights to his side. When Malih did it thrice, the sultan said, "It is enough that you have been publicly insulted before the tribunal of the canon-law" محکومه شرعیه.[2] His *jagir* was forfeit and so long as he lived did not obtain any fief.

(b) One day a horse was stolen from the royal stable, the steward of which was Jalal, *mir-akhur*, the superintendent of the stable. When the matter was reported to the sultan, he enquired from where the horse had been originally brought. He was told that it was from Malik Nathu Kansi. Jalal was ordered to be handed over to Muhammad Zaitun, so that the latter might realise from him the original price of the horse. On the third day the thief was caught along with the horse near Dholpur and brought to the sultan who commanded that Muhammad Zaitun should be asked if he had realised the sum of money or not. He found it difficult to reply. If he replied in the negative, he was afraid he might be asked to account for negligence ; if he answered in the affirmative, it would be a lie. So he gave an ambiguous reply saying that Jalal had on that very day given him satisfaction. So the command was issued to deliver the horse to Jalal who sold his horse at ten thousand rupees. Rs. 4000/ was paid to Muhammad Zaitun and he kept Rs 6000/ for himself. [For three days the thief was kept waiting before the hall of public audience پیش داخرل][3] . Once Khan Khanan Nuhāni happened to notice the thief during a public audience and said, "Why do you keep the thief under

1 Here Ms Add II 688 slipped certain words which I have filled in from the Or 1929

2 محکومه رسوا شدی — Add II, 688 has محکومه شرعیه

3 The bracketted portion taken from Ms or 1929 f 26. Ms Add II, 688 says محبوس داشتند سرروزدر He was kept confined for three days.

surveillance. Be gone from here and have him executed." At this moment the sultan came out and instantly said "The time for killing him was when he had gone to steal[1] or when he was caught stealing. You have now got back your (lost) property— [you are strange Mussalmans indeed ; because you now call for his execution at this place].[2] My durbar hall is a place of public safety دار امانت در ما you should now take him to Muhammad Zaitun to be lodged in the gaol." It was done accordingly.

On the days of 'Id, the tenth day of the month of Muharram and the anniversary of the Prophet's death, (May peace be upon him), it was the established practice of the sultan to call for a list of the prisoners who were not notorious که نامی نبودند. This man, however, remained in prison for seven years. Whenever his name was[3] read before the sultan, along with prisoners of the same category, it was not taken notice of. At the end of seven years the command was issued to tell him that the sultan would set him at liberty, if he accepted Islam اگر اسلام قبول کند بگزارم He said he would have complied with the order if it had been issued after only seven days and that after the lapse of seven years, he would embrace Islam of his own accord برغبت خود[4] The thief was taken out from the prison, converted to Islam and circumcised. He was taught the five principal prayers and fasting. When the sultan was informed that he had become such a (strict) Muslim, he commanded that he should be presented with a robe, a *sar-o-pa*, and fifteen *tankas* and offered the expenses of the road, if he went away. If, on the other hand, he preferred to stay in his service, he was free to do so. The thief said, "Where shall I go at present ? During the seven years of my prison-life, the instinct of stealing has been wiped out of my mind and is no longer a part of my nature. The sentiment of love and affection for my relations has also been eradicated from my mind. Please favour me with an appointment that I may render service. I have put up with so much punishment and oppression (عذاب و ازار). As the

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1 Ms Or 1929, f. 26. Ms Add 11 633 has only "when he was caught stealing."

2 The bracketted portion from Ms or 1929.

3 Here the Ms or 1929 has dropped out words in each sentence.

4 Here *Ms* or 1929 adds a few effusive remarks on the behaviour of thief which I have omitted.

thieves will come to know of it, they will never practise stealing." The sultan said "What would be your post ?" "Put me in charge of the gateway of the city[1] and if there is any theft, I will requite it from my own dues, (عهده)," rejoined the new convert. It was done accordingly

One day a theft occurred in the market square (بازار چارسو) of the city. The cloth dealers' shops were broken into ; silk fabric and other precious things قماش و جزان were burgled. The cloth merchants applied for justice. The command was issued to inform the Neo-Muslim that he had stood security for all thefts that might take place. Now he had to account for it. He said, "Be pleased to grant me four days' respite for enquiry into the matter." At the end of three days he reported that this theft had been commited by men belonging to the army (مردم لشکر). No outsider had done it. He wanted the Meos (ماوبان) in the army wherever they were, to be committed into his hands and he would find out the thieves. Order was issued accordingly.

[At this time there was hardly an emir or soldier (knight) who did not have a Meo guard. A few hundred Meos assembled. He investigated and concluded that thieves belonged to this tribe. They begged and prayed not to be put under arrest, their lives to be spared, and the goods not to be recovered from them. They undertook to pay the price. Afterwards he got their undertaking (blood money) recorded in the register.[2] He made the plantiffs agree to accept the sum of money and obtained pardon for the thief who undertook that as his offence was forgiven this time, he would produce the thief in fetters, if there was theft for the second time and also the stolen property. Afterwards no such theft occurred for a long time.][3]

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1 دروازه قله in the above Ms f 27.

2 خون ایشان مچل کنانید Ms or 1929

3 The portion inside the bracket is taken from or 1922. The remarks about the Meos do not occur in *Ms*. 11, 688.

Note on sultan Sikandar's interest in pearls and a side-light on Afghan advance in culture as sketched in *T. D.*

Once Sikandar called in the jewellers of Sambhal. Agra and Delhi. When they came, the sultan brought a pearl from the palace and gave it to them saying, "Find me another pearl of the same quality." All the jewellers looked at it and said, "Your Gracious Majesty, it is not possible to find such a pearl in the whole of Hindustan. It can be had only from the Feringis of Hormuz which is a treasure-house of pearls." The sultan said, "So long as you do not produce a second pearl of the same kind, you cannot leave the court." All the pearl-experts came in crowds to his durbar-hall.

At this time Miyan Tah who was a friend of the king and endowed with many accomplishments, made his way to the king. He said to the jewellers, "Why have you been kept in detention." They said, "The sultan has asked us to find a thing which is beyond our means to supply." They showed the single pearl and explained that another pearl of the same kind was required. Miyan Tah approached the sultan and said, "What exactly is the order your Majesty has issued. I have shown them a pearl and asked them for one to match." Miyan Tah asked them to produce this pearl, if possible. The sultan handed the pearl to Miyan Tah who said that if the king wished, he would seek out one like it and present it to him.

The sultan said, "How splendid a thing it is." Miyan Tah took this pearl to his house and brought with him another which had the same lustre and was of the same quality, so that one could not be distinguished from the other. He placed them before the sultan and asked which one was the original. Though the sultan carefully examined it, he could not be sure and said to Miyan Tah, "I do not make out any difference between the two; you please tell me.' At this Miyan Tah indicated which was the original and which the other brought by him. The sultan placed the pearl before the assayers to fix a price. They estimated its value at thirty lakh *tankas*. The sultan ordered the sum to be handed over to the persons in Miyan Tah's train. Miyan Tah said, "By the grace of your Majesty, I have a good many pearls of this variety in my store. I cannot accept the price. The sultan said, "I shall not take it, if you do not accept the price." Miyan Tah said that this pearl was made by him and he had not incurred any expense on its account. How could he take the price. The sultan with an expression of wonder on his face said, "How can it be ascertained that you have made it. Miyan Tah said that

he would show it in private. By command of the sultan all the nobility retired. Miyan Tah who had made it from dross removed one layer after another. The sultan was surprised at seeing this and honoured Miyan Tah with such favour as befits a king.

There was no art in which Miyan Tah[1] was not skilled. Sultan Sikandar said about him that a thousand persons accomplished in various arts did not possess a particle of Miyan Tah's accomplishment. He had made a single writing tablet and a cap out of ivory. It was not broken, inspite of rubbings. Besides he made an ear-ring in the design of a lotus, inside which was set a fly. When the woman put it in her ear, it seemed a bud so long as the head was kept still. As soon as the head was shaken, the bud opened out into a lotus, the fly flew out and hovered in front of the eye. When she stopped shaking the head, the fly returned into the lotus and became a bud once more. How are such marvels to be described ?

1 The name is written as '*Tahir*' in *F. A. E.* In *W. M.* and *T. D.* the name is distinctly written as طه

An anecdote of sultan Sikandar's meeting with Babur Qalandar as sketched in the Tarikh-i-Daudi

On a red-letter day it was brought to the sultan's notice that an itinerant monk (*qalandar*) (who was, in fact, a padishah پادشه قلندری) named Babur *qalandar* had come to Delhi, in the attire of a *qalandar* and was seeking admittance to his court. A body of the sultan's close attendants informed him that a *qalandar*, learned in the esoteric lore, was standing in the portico of the durbar-hall in anticipation of an audience. The sultan ordered some of his favourites to usher him into his presence. As soon as he stepped inside the door, the sultan shook hands with him. The *qalandar* perceived from the touch of the sultan's palm that a fund of good fortune was in store for him and that he had still to reach the meridian of his glory. The sultan said, "The dervishes have a high position," upon which Babur *Qalandar* replied by reciting extempore the following verse :

> This position, slender as hair is finer than a
> cluster of a thousand dots هزار نکته,
> No one becomes a *qalandar* by merely shaving the head.

The sultan looked at him with an expression of of amazement, and recited the following verse :

> One who wears a cocked cap and sits with a scowl on his face,
> Knows neither rules of royalty nor the cañoñs of leadership.

The sultan felt inspired to recite a few verses from an ode and stayed with him for a while. The sultan left the court and called upon one of his favourites to arrange a banquet for the dervishes in an agreeable manner, without any individual invitation. The *qalandar* went back to his own country. After a few days the sultan became intensely eager to meet the body of *qalandars*. (The heralds) came to people, high and low and invited the *qalandars*. High and low among the people were informed of it and the *qalandars* were sent for. A large body of them attended ; the sultan, however, called for the production of the head of their order. They declared that he had parted company with them on that very day. The sultan, by means of his insight, inferred that this man was presumably Babur. The *qalandars* said that he was called by that name. At this the sultan wrung his hands and said that he had almost caught the pelican in his own hand, but it had miraculously escaped. It is said that Babur wrote a few verses and sent them to the sultan who, in his turn, replied to them.

Anecdote about some emirs of sultan Sikandar's reign, as sketched in the W. M. B. M. Ms or 1929

Masnad-i-'Ali Muhammad Farmuli, *hakim* of Oudh, was known by the name of Kalāpāhār. His actions and exploits are as follows :

When the *sultanate* of sultan Husain Sharqi ended, Oudh was assigned to Miyan Muhammad Farmuli. Shams Khan, who was a noble of sultan Husain, yet held his own at Bahraich. Sultan Sikandar happened to be at Bhata when a nobleman said in his court "There is now no noble of sultan Husain in all the territory once held by him. By whose strength Shams Khan who is at Bahraich, holds it ?" Somebody else said "Let us find out how he still maintains himself". Khan Khanan Farmuli[1] who was present there wrote to Miyan Muhammad and reported the conversation that had passed, asking him to be mindful of his affairs. When the letter of Khan Khanan Farmuli reached Miyan Muhammad, he summoned the army-captains and conferred with them saying, "We intend to get across the Saru and fall upon Shams Khan". All of them consented. Afterwards he assembled all the officers and soldiers at one place. He brought a piece of muslin and placed it before him along with sheafs of betel leaf. He then exclaimed loudly and said, "This is the shroud which I wrap round my head. Whoever is wllling to seek death may join me or let him take betel leaf as a token of my goodwill and bid me adieu. Such a course of action is more pleasing than desertion in the field, which would be unfair. I am in good mood and right earnest when I ask such a person not to follow me". All of them preferred heart and soul to follow him.[1] Miyan Muhammad came to the bank of the Saru and repeated, "I am going to board the vessel. Whoever of you likes may sit with me in the boat which will not be brought here again" Some offered to go. The Miyan kept standing on the edge of the water ; and saw that everybody was embarked in the crafts and led them out into the river. The horses

1 Here the word فرمولی has been written as Qarmuli قرمولی in Ms 11638. for which an eminent scholar like Dr Hidayet Husain wrongly retained in his text قرمولی

2 Ms Add II, 683 has سرما سم اسپ ان حضرت ـ رزوی هیجا و هنگام میدان تا جان دربدن داریم جد و جهد کوشیم Our head lies beneath the foot of your Highness's horse, that is to say, your word is law unto us). On the day of battle we shall do our best in the field. as long as life remains in the body.

remained on this side of the river, while Shams Khan came up on the other side and took his post at the landing place (گهات). Miyan Muhammad boarded the vessel after all his men had set out. As soon as the boats reached the quay (پشته), the battle began. Miyan Muhammad came up from the rear and commanded all to take their bows and arrows in their hands, relinquishing all ideas of fighting with the sword. As arrows began to fly, by divine dispensation, Shams Khan was hit with one of them and flight ensued among his troops. Men from this side made vigorous exertions and won the day. The news reached (sultan Sikandar) that Shams Khan was killed, upon which this territory was assigned to Miyan Muhammad. This was one of the big battles Miyan Muhammad fought.

A similar enterprise was the Miyan's engagement with the twenty-four Rajas of this territory, all of whom mustered their forces together and a disturbance broke out in this territory. The Miyan mounted again and rode to action. On the day of engagement, the Miyan split up his army into three divisions, one in the centre commanded by Miyan Nia'mat to whom the Miyan assigned his own standard and ensigns ; another on the right commanded by Malik Alhadād Kanauji the other on the left under Qiyam Khan Pai. The Miyan kept with him 120 seasoned warriors, a pair of drums and an elephant and took his post firmly in one spot.[1] After the forces were arrayed, he took to playing chess. He was taken up with this, when news arrived that the *kafirs* were pouring across in groups. There was a general talk about it and he made enquiries and continued playing as before, without any sign of perturbation. When it was reported that a clash had occurred between his forces and those of the Hindus, he still continued to play and directed others to keep their eye on the course of the battle. When news came that both of his divisions had been defeated, he asked if Nia'matullah was holding his position or had yielded it. He was told that Nia'matullah was standing his ground. He still went on with the game saying, "What can happen to the two divisions, when Niamatullah is firm in his place." At last the news came that the two divisions were retreating and had been joined by the centre. The Miyan then covered the board and told others to let it remain

1 Ms Add 11 688 says یک جورہ نقارہ یک فیل مست بہ خود در کمین گاہ داشت

as it was. He rose and having left the ambush, struck up the kettle-drum. He asked his followers to rush headlong in formation and raise the cry that Miyan Muhammad was coming. On hearing the sound of the drum and the report of Miyan Muhammad's coming, the Hindus could not maintain their ground and turned back from the field. They fought so desperately that their swords became glued to their palm.[1] One of their elephants clad in a steel cuirass was dragged away; eight maunds of iron were taken off its body. The original name of this elephant was Angasarāi. Since that day it was named Naqdilbahār.[2] After the victory, Miyan Muhammad took up his game.

I have heard from those who were with him that in course of operation, there was no change either in his mien or conduct. The *kafirs* and the Hindus who had fled, assembled at a particular place. At this time reinforcement came from the sultan.[3] On the very day he mounted and rode back to Oudh. The theologians and the notables came out to receive the emirs[4] and from another direction the peasant women came up singing, with pitchers of water on their heads. As they approached, the emirs first turned towards the notables when somebody from among the Hindus exclaimed saying, "First touch the earthenware pots which make an auspicious augury." Upon this they turned round and faced the pitchers. Hence these notables did not exchange words with them, and having set their faces against the emirs went back to their houses. His Holiness Shaikh Darwesh who was one of this body of men, said, "As you have turned away from us and gazed at the pitchers, you will see how water would do unto you." !

These emirs marched against the Hindus for the second occasion and were on the verge of gaining victory. There were no clouds in the sky at the time, yet it rained profusely accompanied by hail-stone.

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1 According to Ms Add 11, 633, such killing and fighting took place that the blood of the worthless *kafirs* flowed in stream. Eight maunds of steel were taken off the body of an elephant which had broken the shafts and lances.

چندان کشش و کوشش نمودند که جویها از خون کفار نابکار روان گردید و در اعضاء فیل که در حین محاربه پیکان و سنان سکسته بود چون برآوردند هشت من اهن بدر امد

2 Ibid, gives the name as Mandalpahar مندل پہار

3 Ibid has دریں اثنا in the meantime.

4 Evidently the reference is to the officers who accompained Miyan Muhammad.

The battle field was uneven and difficult to negotiate, (مخالف) and the whole ground was sown with paddy. It is the practice in that country to erect walls of the height of one or two yards round the field. The rainfall was so copious that these walls went beneath the water. The troops were mounted, and they were immobilized.[1] The Hindus who were footmen now had the advantage over them. They gathered from all sides and gained the upper hand over the horsemen who were defeated. A large body of troops (belonging to the Muslim army) was killed and many officers were untraced. Miyan Muhammad's drum and the drummer fell into the hands of the Hindus, who asked him to beat the drum in accordance with the practice in their army. He did it. Whoever heard it came running from all sides, attracted by the report and were killed by their enemies (Hindus). Shaikh Darwesh left Oudh for Delhi and lies buried in Sikandarabad.

Miyan Muhammad was held in such esteem by the sultan that whenever he received an honorary robe, he was offered one hundred horses, whereas others received one horse only. He was the sister's son of sultan Bahlol. It was his practice to engage in hunting for three months in a year. He chased lion, wolf, wild buffalo, and killed them with spit. He shot lion and tiger with arrows. By his command none could shoot at a lion except he himself. One of his arms had become crippled by wounds. His other arm was fit. He took the arrow in his lame hand and held it along his chest; while with his left hand he took the bow of destiny and pulled the string. His palanquin was put at a spot facing the lion. The beast was roused up. Nobody could come between the Miyan and the lion when it sprang at the palanquin. In the middle of its leap it was shot by an arrow which killed it on the very spot. One shot was enough, There was no need for a second. The palanquin was separated from the lion by the distance of a single arrow shot.

1 Ms Add 11, 688 has اسپ تاسینه فرو می رفت و غوطه می خورد The horse ploughed through chest-deep water and swam.

Miyan Husain Farmuli

Another nobleman was Miyan Husain Farmuli, (مقطع) *muqta* (feofee) of Saran and Champāran known as Jalkhet.[1] Miyan Husain was a brave man, endowed with exceptional prowess. He was a commander on the frontier. In addition to his salary, (مواجب), he held 20,000 villages wrested from the *kafirs*. When he rode out on a campaign against the Raja of Champaran and marched against the Raja, he encamped on the bank of the Gandak. Maghula Manlaki was one of his emirs. He enquired how many miles distant was the Raja from that place. He was told that the Raja had a fort on the other side of the river in which he stayed. He again asked how many *koss* distant the place was. He was told that the barrier was the river which was seven *koss* broad. When Maghula heard that only the river interposed, he said that as the *kafir* was on the other bank of the river, he would take position facing that side and remarked, "Shame on our faith if we waver." He took an oath saying that so long as he did not attack him, all drink and food that he took would be carrion unto him. With these words he rose with the name of Allah on his lips and mounted his horse. Everybody told him, "The river was broad by seven *koss*. So why hurry" ; Let the river be seventy *koss* broad ; I have taken the oath and do not care for the consequences." He said this and plunged his horse into the river, which went wading through some places and swimming through others. The entire contingent followed him in the same way. Haibat Khan, Bahadur Khan and Ikhtiyar Khan were all his officers. (امرا) When the Karranis heard that Maghula had made a dash, they rushed towards the river upon which the entire army including everyone encamped there, hurried to the water.

An uproar now arose. Miyan Husain was in his tents and asked what the row was about. Maghula led the van. Whoever heard of it, followed him. The Miyan also rode away in haste, overtook Maghula in the middle of the river and asked him to come back as the boat would be arriving on the following day, when they could be easily ferried across. "Let those who like, march at an hour that suit them. I have nothing to do with expediency," said he. "You have employed me for service. I shall do it. If the servant cannot perform

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1 ل has been dropped by the scribe in Ms Add. 11, 683. So the word reads جلکهت

his duty, then only should the master trouble to take a step. You note this day how we do our duty, while you go back in safety." In spite of persuasions, he did not pay heed. The Miyan was therefore obliged to advance. [At the time of sunset they reached the vicinity of the fort in which the Raja was entrenched. The Raja was so free of anxiety and composed in mind about the crossing of the wide river that he thought it could not be done within the space of a year.[1]]

All of a sudden a tumult broke out in the city. The Raja was lounging in the dancing hall[2] (در علمخانه پاتربازی نسسته). Word was sent saying that Afghans had come up. He did not believe it, lost as he was in the sight of the dancers (ازتماشای پاتربازی گرم بود) He was so absorbed when the Muslims stormed in. Consequently he fled. By chance Maghula Karrani fell in battle (بشهادت رسید).[3] Miyan Husain lamented over it saying, "It was better we had not won the victory, because this victory and booty are no compensation for the loss of a man like Maghula."

After two hundred years of rule, destruction befell the kingdom of the Raja. The treasures and wealth hoarded during this period were taken as booty. How could I describe them ?

Shaikh Daud Kambu, *shiqdar* of Miyan Husain, had collected the sandals (پایذار) of the Hindus who had fallen in this battle. They were thrown into the fire and they yielded gold valued at twenty thousand gold coins.[4] The extent of this kingdom could be guessed from this fact.

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1 These lines were taken from the Ms Add 11. 688 and are as follows :—

راجا از رهگذر دریا چنهن بی غم و خاطر جمع داشت که تا یکسال ممکن نیست

2 The literal rendering would yield the meaning "Hall for the art of dancing."

3 Would literally mean—attained martyrdom.

4 داود کنبو پایزار کافران جمع کرده بسوخت هزار اشرفی و طلا بدان پایزار حاصل شد

The other noble was Masnad-i-'Ali Dariya Khan Nuhani, feofee (مقطع) of Bihar, who was sationed on the frontier bordering Bengal, Orissa and Tirhut. He was so resolute that many glorious deeds were done by him. Firstly, when sultan Sikandar returned from Jaunpur, twenty-two disloyal nobles rose in rebellion, [none of the emirs were willing to come to grips with them and fight them],[1] excepting Jamal Khan Sarang Khani in Jaunpur and Dariya Khan in Bihar.

Within a short interval sultan Husain marched upon Bihar. Dariya Khan did not apply for help to anybody. He came out of the fort and engaged the enemy in the open field. He passed the night on the battle-field and entered the fort on the following day. The sultan stayed there and marched to Bihar on horse back and fought. Dariya Khan broke the wall of the fort on whichever side sultan Husain delivered his assault and engaged him. When the enemy was repulsed, he entered the fort again. Sultan Husain made laudatory remarks saying, "What sort of man is this Dariya Khan ! How daring he is. While we devise all kinds of means to pull out a single brick from the wall, he willingly breaks the wall of the fort and rushes out, though his sovereign is 500 *koss* distant from him." In this way he defended the fort for two months until reinforcements came from the sultan and sultan Husain beat a retreat.

Again, when sultan Sikandar received the mercy of God, the Bengal sultan and the Raja of Orissa mobilized their forces. Having heard that the two rulers were marching against him, Dariya Khan said, "What does it matter if the sultan is dead. I am still alive and the same man as before (زنده‌ام همانام). Go and pitch one tent facing Bengal and another on the side of Orissa and declare, 'Let them come if they like.'' When this report was received, none of the rulers budged from their respective places.

Hemistich — Such a *wazir* for such a king.

Couplet — Where there is such a *wazir* for such a king,
Why should not the world turn into a paradise.

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1 This line is more explicit in Ms Add. II. 688

کسی از امرا این خدمت قبول نمی کرد که با حرام خواران مجادله و محاربه کند

Khwaja Hasan has well said in his epic.

"What a wonderful age it is ;
The people are prosperous ; there is festival and merriment in every house.
People do not cherish feelings of hatred against one another, nor does anybody entertain the thought of mischief-making even in dream,
The Muslims are dominant ; the Hindus obedient,
The very name of the Mughal is not heard of.

Again, He is a king like Zulqarnain (Alexander, the Great) and is the architect of Islam,

عجب عهدی همه در کامرانی — بهر خانه نشاط و شادمانی
نه کس دادی کمند کینه در تاب — نه‌کسی دیدی خیال فتنه در خواب
مسلمان چیره دست و هندوان رام — ندانستی کسی از جنس مغل نام
شهی در دانش یزدان شکوهی — هم از سنگ و هم از گوهر چون کوهی

Therefore the title of sultan Sikandar was especially appropriate to him.

Khwaja Jauhar (پروانه نویس) — secretary of Khawas Khan and (his son) Miyan Bhuā (भुआ ?). His practice was to attend office every morning and take up the records, but he would not sit down to writing, before making some gift for charity. In the days of the late Sikandar his written memorandum was so weighty that if any person stated in his petition of complaint to the sultan that it was written by Khwaja Jauhar, his object was sure to be fulfilled.

Khawas Khan who was deputed to a campaign for the reduction of sub-montane region[1] (ملک بالا) conquered it. He pulled down the *kafir* temple of Debi Sankari[2] [دیبی سنکیر کفار] and carried away the stone which was worshipped سنگ پرستش by the *kafirs* and the copper umbrella suspended over it (چتر مسین). On it was incribed in Devanagri (هندوی) character a date two thousand years old. When he sent them to His Majesty, the stone (worshipped by the Hindus) was made over to the Hindus for reducing them to weights and out of the copper umbrella certain vessels were made in which water was heated. They were sent away to mosques and the royal palace so that people could use their water for ablution and intimate toilette purposes. (وضو و طهارت). When this territory was brought under fiscal jurisdiction, three lakh *tankas* was fixed as the revenue, but it yielded fifteen lakhs.[3]

When Khawas Khan was nominated for this task, the sultan assigned the means for his subsistence وجه معاش. When Khawas Khan returned, he was on the verge of death. He sent word saying that he had something to say. "Come to me if you have any strength yet or I will go to you", said the sultan. Khawas Khan then took his seat in a palanquin and came to the king who ordered the palanquin to be brought before him and asked him to say what he had to say and then go back.

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1 Ms Add II, 693 جهت استیسال نگرکوت نامزد فرمود

2 Ibid only دیبی

3 This is the sense that could be made by a collation of both the Mss.

Khawas Khan said, "I do not know if this is the disease which will carry me away or I shall live for sometime more. I have brought a piece of paper containing a statement of the revenue for which have to account. Please direct somebody to scrutinise it." The sultan replied, "I have made you sole vice-regent, وكيل مطلق. What then is the need for checking your accounts. All that you did was done by me." He said that he had given away certain things to certain persons. It would be very kind if he confirmed them, otherwise the sum might be made up by deduction from his salary...........' After some conversation he took away the paper from his hand and threw it into the fire. The sultan gave compassionate replies whenever the Khan had anything to say and then bade him leave. Khawas Khan then began to weep. "Why do you weep; what is the cause of such bitter grief" asked the sultan. 'Your Majesty has granted out of your boundless generosity all that was desired by the slave. Now I weep from fear of the True king (God), being uncertain how he might deal with me." The sultan said, "Know for certain that all my favours and esteem for you are the tokens of his kindness. As all the affairs of this world became easy to you, be confident that you will be able to render account in the other world with the same ease. So do not shed piteous tears"

When Khawas Khan received the mercy of God, Miyan Bhua succeeded to his place.

An anecdote of sultan Sikandar's death as sketched in T. D.

Life is short and kingdom ephemeral. The sultan was attacked by an illness at this hour and the fact is as follows. Once Haji Abdul Wahhāb said to sultan Sikandar, "You are a Muslim king and it is your duty to grow a beard, otherwise it amounts to an infraction of the Muslim tradition, especially the usage of the royalty. The sultan replied, "God be thanked, I shall grow a beard." His Holiness the Qazi replied, "Why delay doing a good thing. Is it necessary to procrastinate in performing a meritorius act." The sultan replied saying, "I have a straggly tangled beard which, if allowed to grow, would look very ugly. People would mock at me ...... I do not want the Muslims to be disloyal." Qāzi Abdul Wahhāb again said, "I shall rub my palm over your face and by heavenly grace, a fine beard will then sprout which will command universal respect." Sultan Sikandar bowed his head and did not say anything. The *Qazi* added "Oh king of the world ! I speak to you, and you do not condescend to reply." The sultan then replied "Yes, I shall grow a beard if my *Pir* (religious guide) bids me to do." "Who is your *Pir*," asked the Qāzi. "He dwels in the woods of village Sahbu, lying within the jurisdiction of Jalesar. He passes his days in the forest and comes out occasionally to see me," replied the sultan. The Qazi said "Does he wear beard", "No, he does not," rejoined the sultan. The Qāzi said, "Please ask him to do it, when you meet him again and there should be no delay in doing it." The sultan turned his face away from the Qazi, without making any reply and remained silent. The Qazi left the court, after bidding adieu to the sultan with the words "Peace be with you." The sultan thereupon remarked "Methinks the Shaikh is under the impression that it is due to his good office that the people obey me and kowtow before me. He possibly forgets that if I order one of my slaves to be seated in a palanquin, the entire body of nobility would carry him on their shoulder at my bidding."

Shaikh Abdul Jalil, son of Sayyid Ahmad was standing nearby, when the sultan made this remark. He conveyed it to Qazi Abdul Wahhāb and said, "Such are the sultan's words behind your back." Upon this the Qazi, placing his hand upon Abdul Jalil's shoulder, said, "I am a scion of the Prophet's family and he has compared me with a slave, for which his very throat will be affected. Wait and see." The Qāzi came away to Delhi from Agra without the sultan's permission and shortly after his return, the sultan fell ill with a disease of the throat.

It grew worse from day to day and his condition visibly changed from bad to worse. He then asked his chaplain (Imām) Shaikh Ladan to send him in writing the prescribed penances for the violation of fast, prayer, shaving the beard, drinking wine and amputating the ears and noses of the people. Shaikh Ladan made a detailed statement to the sultan who asked the news-recorder of the court to consult the shaikh and make an estimate of the sum of money that was needed for the expiation of such transgressions committed by him. The Shaikh complied with this order and reported to the sultan. The latter, in his turn, commanded the chancellor of the exchequer to distribute the money among the theologians from a fund that had been kept apart from the public treasury. The entire body of theologians wondered at it and they asked the treasury chief how there could be any fund other than the public treasury ? He replied that rulers of various countries had presented gifts and noblemen offerings to the sultan which had accumulated from year to year. This amount was reported to the sultan who ordered it to be kept apart for expenditure at his pleasure. The command was then issued for the gift of this sum in charity. The entire nobility complimented the sultan's foresight and congratulated him. The sultan became daily more and more emaciated and weak, but owing to his overriding passion for work, he took no account of his health and discharged the duties, in spite of his physical break-drown. At length the situation came to such a pass that he could neither take a drop of water nor a morsel of food. The wind-pipe of his throat was choked and his earthly career came to a close in *Ziqadah*, 928 A. H.

Why Sikandar has gone down in history as a bigot

It has been stated in the introduction that Sikandar was unorthodox in his private life. He shaved his beard, was fond of music and drank wine in private. He had a taste for Persian poetry which he delighted in composing and reciting. He was not punctilious in the performance of the five obligatory duties of a Muslim ; nor is he stated to have levied Jaziya on his Hindu subjects. He did not allow the temple of Chanderi to be despoiled of the graven images ; allowed ritual bathing at Kurukshetra to continue and the Muslim annalist's remark about the wholesale destruction of temples is refuted by the continuation in *situ* of the ancient shrines in a place like Narwar in Gwalior territory. Nor is Sikandar's reign stained with such a cold-blooded massacre as that which occurs in a Christian chronicle :

> "In Solomon's porch and in his temple our men rode in the blood of Saracens up to the knees of the horses"

Yet Sikandar figured in the eyes of the Muslim chroniclers as an iconoclast and a champion of the faith. The same view has been echoed by modern writers, one of whom expressed the view as late as 1947 that Sikandar was a "Champion of orthodoxy bordering on iconoclasm."[1] Why ? The answer is not far to seek.

Sultan Sikandar unwittingly became the promoter of an expansionist policy at the cost of the Hindu kingdoms lying on the frontier of his territories. From Niamatullah's account it would be evident that Sikandar was taken up with fighting the Bachgotis, 1493-1494 A. D. the Baghelas from 1494-1500 A. D. and the Tomaras from 1501-1507 A. D. His captains posted on the frontier : e. g. Azam Humayun Sarwani at Kara, fought the Hindu Rajas of the neighbourhood ; Miyan Muhammad Farmuli at Oudh, fought the Raja of Saran and Champāran and reduced that territory to obedience. Miyan Husain Farmuli overthrew Shams Khan, the Sharqi feofee at Bahraich and the Hindu chieftains who had been his confederates. Sikandar's wazir Khawas Khan raided the Kangra principality, causing havoc to the Hindu shrines.

Sikandar's warfare was conducted with ruthless ferocity. He laid waste the tract on the way from Kara to Dalmau, and from Motimau to Koil, in utter disregard of the sufferings to the people. Several

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1 Dr. A. Halim — *I. H. C.* 1947

miles of the country round Dholpur were similarly pillaged and as Niamatullah says, even the trees were dug up by the very roots. Just as the war by the Christians against the Moors in Spain, engendered a violent mutual hatred and left a bitter memory behind, so did Sikandar's campaigning for the legitimate needs of defence and expansion of his territory produce the impression of his having been an enemy of the Hindus who, strongely enough, are stated by Ferishta, to have been attracted to Islamic learing during this reign. Sikandar's wars were not inspired by religious motives. They sprang from his expansionist policy and as such were secular in character. He never sheathed his sword against a Muslim, if the latter stood in his way. He crushed Sultan Husain Sharqi and completely destroyed the fort of Jaunpur, with its gateways, ramports and battlements.[1] Similarly Sikandar had no scruples in seizing Chanderi from the Malwa sultan.

Sikandar, however, ranks high among the sultans of Delhi for having re-established the sway of Islam over northern India. The view that the the conquest of Hindustan by the Turks was an easy affair and took only a decade or so is radically wrong. The Turkish condottiere swept across the Panjab and the Gangetic plain with only light cavalry, but subjugation of the country was a long process that was carried on through centuries, by successive waves of nomads, such as the Albari Turks, the Khaljis (1290-1320) and the Tughlaqs, 1320-1400 ; and when the Central Asian warrior Timur Lang (the lame) gave the *coup de grace* to the disintegrating Tughlaq empire, new Rajput dynasties sprang phoenix-like from the ashes, to take the place of those that had been extinct. Hinduism showed an extraordinary vitality and renewed the challenge to Islam.[2] The Guhilots of Mewar, the Rathors of Idar, the Chauhans of Bhongaon, the Rathors of Etawah,

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1 Pogson, *History of Jaunpur*, 41.

2 This aspect of Rajput resistance to Muslim power across the centuries is generally ignored by our writers on Indian history. Referring to India's reaction to the endless Turkish inroads from the 13th to the 17th century, stress is generally only laid on the revival of spirituality in successive epochs. For instance it is stated in a bulky tome published in 1957, "The very extremity of the danger called forth an outburst of her ancient spirituality on a scale unknown before or since. Between the 14th and 17th centuries almost every geographical unit in our vast land produced its typical saint and mystic, their lives and teachings forming an imperishable record in the annals of our middle Ages (Studies in Indian History and Culture, by Dr. U.N. Ghosal, 262-68). In the opinion of this author Shivaji as much as Guru Govinda Singh, represented India's "*Spirituality, its vitality and its intellectuality.*" Did not our country produce military

the Bachgotis of Gorakhpur, Jaunpur and south-eastern parts of Oudh, the Bhadurias of Agra region and the Tomaras of Gwalior leaped up into prominence and endeavoured to regain the territory lost to the alien (Mlechha) conquerors. The Sayyids could hardly hold their own. The phrase coined to indicate Alauddin Alam Shah's sovereignty : اورای شاه عالم از دهلی تا پالم[1]

"Ālam Shah ruler of the country from Delhi to Pālam' indirectly reflected the growth of the neighbouring Rajput powers and their ascendancy.

At such a crisis in the history of Indian Islam, the sceptre of Hindustan fell into the hands of the Afghans, and during two generations of firm rule, 1451-1517 A. D, the Afghans did away with some of the Rajput powers and reduced others to impotence. If Sikandar Lodi's unremitting warfare and achievements are viewed in the context of this historical background, is it not likely that he should figure in the eyes of the medieval annalists as a champion of the faith.

Sikandar's hold upon the affection of the contemporary Muslims derived from his special concern for them and the purity of Islam. He forbade the annual procession by which the standard of Salar Masud Ghazi was carried to Bahraich from the capital. He interfered with the celebration of the festival of the Shias by prohibiting the carrying in procession of couterfeit tombs and other emblems (W. M. my Ed. copy f. 31) قبور بلامیت و ستیلا ? و امثال ان در قلم گذاشته He endeavoured to improve the general level of culture and refine ment (عدس) of the Afghans by establishing *madrasas*, while his charity to the faquir, grant of rent-free lands and stipends to the ulema and *mashaikhs* helped to keep the faithful in the track of orthodoxy. The casual destruction of Hindu temples in course of conquest, though done more by his commanders than by him, flattered the Muslim pride. Hence the transfiguration of Sikandar into an ideal Muslim king.

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leaders of the stature of Chandra Gupta Maurya, Samudra Gupta and Harsha, leaving aside the many warrior kings of the Rajput dynasties of medieval India ? And did they not leave behind a tradition of fighting and opposition to foreigners like sultan Mahmud of Ghazna ? The scanty notice given to the Rajput dynastics in the *notes* shows that they did. Constant emphasis on India's spirituality has become an obsession with some of our writers !

1 T. S. B. I. 6.

Note on Sikandar's relation with the Rajput princes.

In the interest of the general reader, sultan Sikandar's relation with the Rajput powers and the sultan of Malwa is sketched here in outline.

Bachgoti Rajputs

In the fifth year of Sikandar's reign, a formidable rising was organised by sultan Husain Sharqi that threatened to wipe out Sikandar's rule in eastern U. P. The leadership was taken by Juga, the Bachgoti chief, who assembled a large force, estimated roughly at a lakh of men, (horse and foot) with which he attacked and drove out Mubarak Khan, feofee of Kara. Barbak Khan, brother of the sultan, was overawed by the muster of such a large concourse of rebels to quit Jaunpur. Thus the whole stretch of country from Kara to Jaunpur disowned the Afghan authority.

The crisis called forth all the energies of Sikandar. He rode away from the polo field at Delhi to his palace, as soon as he received the news and with such alacrity did he equip and march at the head of his army that he reached the bank of the Gumti within ten days and detailed scouts for intelligence of the enemy. Learning that the enemy was near at hand, he prepared for action with the tiny force of five hundred men that had kept pace with him. When he was only three *koss* distant from the enemy camp, he was informed that the Bachgoti force stood at three lakh foot and fifteen thousand horse. Undismayed, Sikandar rushed forward and when he was separated by a distance of only one *koss* from the enemy, he learnt that Juga had fled precipitately, leaving even his apparel behind. Enriched with the booty, Sikandar made for the enemy force that had barricaded itself inside the fortress of Chaund which I identify with Chanda[1] in Sultanpur district of Uttar Pradesh.

Sultan Husain Sharqi had also gone into hiding in this fortress. After a brief interlude of diplomatic exchanges, he, in concert with the

1 Chanda — a village in Sultanpur *pargana*, lying on the road from Lucknow to Jaunpur, at a distance of 25 miles from the district-headquarters, 29°4 × 82°20, Sultanpur Dt. Gaz. Chanda was a mahal in Jaunpur *sarkar* during Akbar's reign, inhabited by the Bachgoti tribe, Jarrett, *Ain*, II. 168. Numerous forts, such as the brick fort at Sultanpur, and another at Bilhari inhabited by the Ansaris during Akbar's reign testify to the political importance of this district during the 16th century.

Bachgoti chief, Juga, gave battle to Sikandar who arranged the constituent clans that made up his army into the following positions—the Lodis in the van, the Sahu khaīl for the right reserve, the Farmulis on the right, the Nuhanis on the left, and the Sarwanis at the rear, and won the victory by his adroit leadership. Sultan Husain became a fugitive, and deprived of his leadership, the Bachgoti rising petered out.[1]

Baghela Rajputs

The Baghelas, a branch of the Solānkis of Gujrat had emigrated to the Banda—Kalinjar region, after the the extinction of their power in Gujrat at the end of the 13th century. Evidently under pressure of the Kalpi chieftans and Sharqi kings, they marched from this district to the region bounded by the Kairmur and the Maikal ranges and carved out an independent principality.

This dynasty first came into political lime-light, when its ruler offered sultan Husain aid of a military escort which, after his crushing defeat at Baksar Jaithra, conducted him from Kalpi to Jaunpur. In 1493-4 A D. when Kara and Jaunpur were caught up in the flames of a rebellion instigated by the Bachgotis, Raja Bhaidachandra made common cause with the rebels by taking Mubarak Khan Nuhani prisoner. Sikandar's appearance at the head of an army shortly afterwards obliged him to set the prisoner at liberty.

In the following year Sikandar tried to detach the Raja from his secret alliance with the Sharqi sultan by making a military demonstration at Kantit on the border of his territory. The Raja interviewed the sultan, but distrustful of the latter, fled the camp at night. Sikandar took reprisals by laying waste the country round Arail.

In 1495-96 Sikandar invaded the Bhata territory at the head of a body of cavalry. The Raja was terrified by the thrust of the Afghans across the inaccessible defiles of his country and left his capital for Sarguja. He died in course of the journey, but Sikandar's victory was neutralised by the death in an epidemic of nine-tenths of his cavalry and the failure of supplies. Sultan Husain turned Sikandar's distress to his advantage and came rushing from Bihar. An encounter took

1 *W. M. B. M. Ms*. my edited copy, ff 42-44.

place within twenty-six miles of Benares, in which Sikandar, aided by the prince Sālivāhan of Bhata, got the better of his rival.

Three years later, the Baghela Raja Sālivāhana, brought the Afghan cavalry back into his country by his point-blank refusal to offer the hand of his daughter to the Afghan king. The latter in anger devastated the country on his march to Bandhugarh with fire and sword. But once again he was obliged to retreat precipitately. The repeated Afghan invasions into this country withered its prosperity and temporarily removed it from the stage of north Indian politics which has been detailed in a separate appendix.

Bhaduria Rajputs

A branch of Chauhan Rajputs who according to Elliot, "are in chief force in Bah Panapat" region of Agra, district, though found widely scattered over the area from Shah Jahanpur across Etawah and Kanpur to Saugor. Traditional genealogy assigns to them a high antiquity which is unsupported by authentic history.

Their warlike character and the strong defences of their country are, however, attested by Abul Fazl who says

در نزدیکه دارالخلافت اگره است از و مستحکم تیر جای نیست ـ زمیداران انجا از طائفه بهدوریه و غیر ان بهشیاری و مردانگی اشتهار دارند و همواره با سلاطین هند سرکشی کردند ـ

The Bhadurias rose to power at the end of the 14th century and were occasionally assailed by the Sayyid kings in their stronghold formed by the Chambal ravines. Sultan Sikandar was the first Afghan king to enter the fastness of their territory. It was a passing raid ; their subjugation was delayed until the times of emperor Akbar.

The Tomara Rajputs of Gwalior

Among the Rajput dynasties that played a distinguished political role in the 15th and 16th centuries, the Tomaras perhaps rank only next in importance to the Guhilots of Mewar. The part played by them is neither known widely, nor has its significance been realised by modern historians. Sikandar's operation against Dholpur, Mandrail, Utgir and Narwar from 1501—1507 has been understood to be a series of isolated campaigns against independent chieftains. These fortresses were, however, the outlying bastions erected at the different corners of the Gwalior principality. Hemmed in by Bayana, Etawah, and Kalpi in the north and east, Chanderi and Ranthambhor in the south-west respectively, Gwalior had to adopt measures for its security against inroads from these different points. Hence the transformation of Gwalior into a four-sided fortress, of which the main points were Dholpur Mandrail, Antagarh (Utgir), and Narwar. This line of fortification was strengthened by obstacles which were interposed by nature, such as ravines formed over wide stretches alongside the Chambal, the undulating character of the soil in northern and eastern parts. The forests and orchards grown all over the country were no less a hindrance to the operation of the enemy cavalry. Ibn Battuta has stated in his *Rihla* how the Hindus planted groves of trees and forests to screen themselves from the Turkish attack :

"The infidels fortify themselves in mountains, in rocky, uneven and rugged places as well as in bamboo-groves. In India the bamboo is not hollow ; it is big. Its several parts are so intertwined that even fire cannot affect them. The infidels live in these forests which serve them as ramparts inside which are their cattle and their crops. There is also water for them within, that is, rain water which collects there. Hence they cannot be subdued except by means of powerful armies, who, entering the forests, cut down the bamboos with especially prepared instruments."[1]

It is these defences, guaranting to the inhabitants security of life and property and pursuit of peaceful occupation which enabled the tiny state to play such a notable part. Splendid buildings, attractive rock sculptures and musical compositions such as the *Man-kutohal* credited to Raja Man and a school of music[2] were the legacies of this line of kings.

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1 Dr Mehdi Husain—*Rihla of Ibn Battuta*, 124.

2 Blochmann—*Ain*. I. 681.

The fortress of Gwalior rising abruptly to a lofty height from above the plains was ruled by the Kachhwas and Parihars in the 11th and 12th centuries until sultan Altamash of Delhi conquered it in 1232 A. D. Ever since that time it remained under the Muslim occupation until 1398 A. D. when a Tomara chief Bir Singh, (var. Har Singh) gained occupation of the fortress. The principality rapidly grew in strength, inspite of occasional military demonstrations by the Sayyid kings for alleged exaction of tribute. Under Dungar Singh, 1452-79 A. D. the Tomaras felt strong enough to attack the Narwar fort, then owning authority to the Malwa sultan. Hushang Shah, however, foiled this attempt by a diversionary attack on Gwalior fort. Dungar Singh's reign has become notable for two achievements; i. Jain sculptures on the Gwalior rock and ii. the complimentary present of certain musical treatises to sultan Zain-ul-Abedin of Kashmir.[1] In spite of attempted aggression by sultans Bahlol and Husain Sharqi, Kirtti Singh, successor of Dungar, kept his territory in tact. He propped up the Sharqi king. after the disaster at Sonhar, by providing him with finances and military escort.

Kirtti Singh's successor was Kalyan Singh. The greatest king of this line was Raja Man who embellished the royal castle at Gwalior with new edifices which have been so lavishly praised by emperor Babur in his *Memoirs.*[2] Faqi ullah, a connosieur in the art of music in the 17th century, testifies to his having been a composer, invented *Drupada* and other melodic-themes (Rāga) and written the Hindi work, *Mān Kutohal.*[3] His notable achievement as the ruler of Gwalior was the check which he offered to the arms of Sikandar Lodi. The Bhadurialis and other Rajput tribes in the Middle Doab owed their inspiration for resistance to the Afghans from the example of the Tomara Rajas. The Muslim chronicler Ferishta has stated that Sikandar's main objective in founding the city of Agra and making it the royal head-quarters was to reduce Gwalior to submission, and the Afghan sultan took up this task, as soon as he effectually disposed of the Bachgotis and the Baghela Rajputs.

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1 B. De. Eng. trans. *T. A.* III. 659-60.

2 Vide footnote page 145.

3 हरिहरनिवास द्विवेदी—मानसिंह और मानकुतूहल—41-43.

In 1501 A. D. Sikandar deputed 'Alam Khan Mewati, Khan Khanan Nuhani and Khawas Khan to the conquest of Dholpur whose Raja Manikdeo (Var. Vinaeykdeo) was a vassal of Raja Mān. The Rajput garrison put up an obstinate fight, when the sultan appeared personally and stamped out the opposition. The Raja fled to Gwalior upon which the garrison capitulated.

The sultan followed this victory by a march towards Gwalior and encamped on the bank of the Mandākini. During his halt Raja Mān made gestures of friendly accommodation by deputing his son Vikramjit to the Afghan king and sending away the fugitive rebels against Sikandar's authority from Gwalior. The sultan reciprocated by reinstating Manikdeo in Gwalior.

In 1505 A. D. Sikandar resumed his operations by directing his force from Bayana against Mandrail fort which yielded after a feeble opposition. Agra was founded in 1505-6 A. D. and the removal of the political headquarters to this new city was followed by a fresh campaign against Dholpur which was now occupied by the sultan. The occupation of Dholpur and Mandrail enabled the sultan to strike directly at Gwalior. The astute Raja now adopted a system of warfare that was suited to his country and limited resources. The country on the north was crossed by ravines fringed with forests and was undulating on other sides, providing scope for ambuscade. As a matter of fact, Sikandar, harassed by the hit-and-run tactics and a sudden attack upon him in an ambush from which he narrowly escaped with his life, beat a hasty retreat from his base at Chinawar. The holy war and pillage upon which the Afghan king had launched, according to Niamatullah, was an ignominious failure, 1506 A. D.

In December of the same year the Afghans attempted to turn the flank by attacking Antagarh (Utgir). He reinforced his commanders, Imad Khan Farmuli and Mujahid Khan, by appearing in person at the siege and stormed the fort into submission. In 1507 A. D. the Afghans carried Narwar by assault and hemmed in Gwalior by an iron ring. The main citadel, however, stood four-square, in proud defiance of the Afghans, so long as Raja Man lived. His death was followed by a formidable attack on Gwalior, conducted by the eminent commander, Azam Humayun, at the instance of sultan Ibrahim. The Afghans pressed the siege with all their violence ; and it appears that after the outer rampart of Badalgarh was taken, Raja Vikramjit, son of Raja Man, negotiated a

treaty[1] of peace with the Afghan sultan under the terms of which he vacated the fort.

Raja Vikramjit's withdrawl from Gwalior closes the history of the Tomaras who, by holding the Afghans at bay in Central India for half a century, averted the doom which might have overtaken the powerful Guhilots and the struggling Hadas of Harauti from a possible coalition of the three Muslim sultanates of Delhi, Malwa and Gujrat.

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1 Azim Humaiun Sarwani invested it for some time, made several attacks, and at length succeeded in gaining it by treaty, Shamsābād being given as an indemnification. King, *Memoirs of Babur*, II. 191

Babur writes in his *Memoirs*, dated Sept 27, 1528

"In spite of my sickness, I went over all the palaces of Mansingh and Bekermajit. They are singularly beautiful palaces, wholly of hewn stone. The palace of Man Singh is more lofty and splendid than that of any other Rajas..... Its front is overlaid with stucco. .. .. The five large domes are covered with plates of copper gilt. The outside of the walls they have inlaid with green painted tiles". Sir Lucas King's Edn, *Memoirs*, II. 336-337

About Man—Kutohal, H. P. Dvivedi writes as follows :

महाराज मानसिंह तँवूर के दरबार में निर्मित मानकुतूहल की हमें खोज थी। परन्तु उसके स्थान पर प्राप्त हुआ औरंगजेब के काश्मीरके सूबेदार फकीरुल्ला द्वारा मानकुतूहल का अनुवाद। यह अनुवाद केवल अनुवाद ही नहीं है। स्वयं फकीरुल्ला ने इसकी भूमिका में लिखा है कि हिजरी सन् १०७२ (ई० सन् १६७१) में उसे मानकुतूहल की प्रति मिली जो महाराज मानसिंह के समय की लिखी हुई थी।

हरिहरप्रसाद द्विवेदी मानकुतूहल, ४१

Sikandar's relation with the Malwa sultans

The policy of expansion towards the south-east at the cost of the kingdom of Malwa had been initiated by sultan Bahlol who in the closing year of his reign led a foray as far as Alhanpur, on the border of the Malwa kingdom. During the reign of Sikandar, disputes for succession among the members of the ruling khilji family provided opportunities for intervention by the Afghan king of Delhi, but on each occasion a spirit of compromise fostered, it seems, by a sentiment of Malwa for the Malwese led the dissident parties to close their ranks and reject the offer of Afghan military assistance.

Two rival factions arose in Malwa towards the close of sultan Ghiyasuddin's reign (1469-1500 A. D.), one supporting the cause of prince Nasiruddin, and the other of the younger prince 'Alāuddin, son of Rāni Khurshid, daughter of the Baglāna Raj. Prince Nasiruddin triumphed over his rival, by defeating the latter's partisans, Sher Khan feofee of Chanderi and Maqbul Khan of Mandasor and appointed his own favourite, Bihjat Khan at Chanderi in 1501 A D. Ten years later, in 1510 A. D. Prince Shihabuddin, eldest son of sultan Nasiruddin, rebelled against his father and after being signally defeated at Dhar, went to Bihjat Khan at Chanderi, from which place he applied for assistance to sultan Sikandar. Prince Shihābuddin met the sultan at the town of Sipri ; but the sudden death of sultan Nasiruddin obliged the prince to leave the protection of Sikandar and make a bid for the throne of Mandu, but his sudden death removed him from the political stage in July, 1511 A. D.

Sultan Mahmud II who now became king of Malwa was challenged by his eldest brother Sahib Khan who was proclaimed king under the title of Muhammad I. Sultan Mahmud was driven out of his capital and eventually gained possession of it by the aid of Medini Rai, a *Purbiya* Rajput in 1512 A. D. The Rajput ascendancy offended many Muslim emirs. Bihjat Khan, feofee of Chanderi who now supported Sahib Khan, raised the inflamable cry of 'Islam in danger' and appealed to sultan Sikandar in the following words :

> "Sultan Mahmud has entrusted the reins of loosening and fastening, management and administration of the kingdom into the hands of the *kafirs* and placed the feet of obedience beyond the track of the faith promulgated by the Prophet Muhammad. He has cast the Muslims into disgrace and humiliation and elevated the *kafirs* and the Rajputs to bonour and dignity. If a contingent of the victorious army arrives in this region, the *khutba* would be read in

the name of the faith-protecting sultan and his coinage would be put into circulation."

Sikandar responded to this appeal by detaching an army under Sa'id Khan and Imad-ul-Mulk who encamped at a distance of only ten *koss* from the Chanderi border. The politics of Malwa were, however, kaleidoscopic. Sultan Mahmud II won over Bihjat Khan to his side and Sahib Khan, distrustful of his ally, now fled to sultan Sikandar and the Afghan captains deputed to the Chanderi border, informed Bihjat Khan of their readiness to enter Malwa territory with their army saying :

"The undertaking had been given for the proclamation of sultan Sikandar's soverignty, by the reading of the *Khutba* and the minting of coins in his name, with the arrival of the victorious army in the *khita* of Chanderi, but no indication of it has been given until this day."

Thus on two successive occasions Sikandar was checkmated in his design of seizing Chanderi.[1] Subsequently the kingdom of Malwa fell a prey to civil war, 1514 A. D. as a result of the conflict between the *Purbiya* Rajputs under Medini Rai and the party of Muslim noblemen. Sikandar thus seized the opportunity for the annexation of Chanderi. It was on that occasion that he interned prince Muhammad who had taken refuge under him and appointed his own officers to the place.[2] Chanderi thus passed under the authority of sultan Sikandar.

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1 T. A. III. 891

2. ibid. I. 882.

بعد ازان سعید خان پسر مبارکخان لودی ، و شیخ جمال پسر عثمان فرملي ،
و راي جگر سين کچهواهه ، و خضر خان ، و خواجه احمد ، را بچنديري تعين فرمود ـ
و این جماعت آنولایت را ، بحیط تصرف درآورده ، دران مملکت استیلا یافتند ـ
و حسب الامر سلطان ، شاهزاده محمد خان نبیرۂ سلطان ناصر الدین مالوي را ، شهر
بند کرده ، سلطنت آن مملکت همچنانکه بود ، برری مقرر داشته ، خودها صاحب اختیار
شدند ـ و چون بهجت خان این معامله معاینه کرده بود ، بودن خود در انظرف
مصلحت ندید ، و بملازمت سلطان آمد ـ

Anecdotes of self-less less love sketched in *W. M.* and *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghina*

[The love-stories translated here show a new literary motif that perhaps came into the Indian Persian literature along with the influx of men from different parts of the Muslim world, attracted by Sikandar's personality. The theme of love, causing death is as old as the Arab poet, Al Muraqqash, the elder, (500 A. D.). Tarafa's passion for Salma and Al Asha's description of his beloved "as a slayer of men" reflected a trait that was transmuted in Indian climate into the type of love-stories described below]

The story goes that Tatar Khan Farmuli's son was bringing his wife back from his father-in-law's house. On reaching the edge of the river they put the palanquin on board the boat. All the people alighted from it excepting a faquir whom they did not disturb. The son of Tatar Khan and his attendants boarded another vessel. As the boat reached the middle of the river, the beautiful lady said to her maid-servant, "I have never seen a boat or a river. If you don't mind, I shall have a look at it." The maid said, "There is none here but a dervish who is sitting in a corner." The beautiful lady came out of the palanquin, took her seat on the wooden planks of the boat, and enjoyed the sight. Every time she cast her eyes at the faquir, he found him looking at her. She dangled one foot over the edge of the boat. The maid said, "Please put your foot inside, for fear the ornament on your leg falls into the water," The woman, with her face glowing like a ruby, said, "If the ornament on my leg falls into the river, would anybody bring it back out of the water." And while she said this. she turned her eyes towards the faquir who faintly indicated he would fetch it out. The beautiful woman cast her ornament into the water and the faquir likewise jumped into the river. After a short while the faquir floated up to the surface of the water. The enchanting woman was overcome with remorse and leaped into the water. The maid raised the alarm by her cries upon which the boat which Tatar Khan had boarded came up. Nets were cast into the river and they were pulled up in a close embrace. In one hand the faquir was holding the ornament. When they were brought to the river-side, the people were thrown into amazement. Eventually it was agreed to wrench them apart and bury them. They were separated from each other by force and laid to rest in the earth. After some time Tatar Khan's men came to remove his wife to a burial-ground of his own. When the grave was opened, no trace of her could be seen. The grave of the

faquir too was dug open and found empty. A small entrance was discovered in it. As they looked into it, they saw a matchless garden, delectable as heaven itself, richly decorated castles of various shapes, inside which were artificial lakes which brought to mind the rivulets of heaven, (کوثر), a throne inlaid with jewels and rubies on which they were seated, surrounded by maiden standing with their hands on their hips. The people were overwhelmed at the sight of the miracle wrought by God. Meanwhile, a large stone was discovered before the mouth of the tunnel, with which the opening was closed. When the people came back, they related this story to Tatar Khan's son and the news spread over the town.[1]

ii. It is said that a dervish who was given to ecstasy, lived in the town of Panipat by the side of a stream that flowed eastwards. A delicate young woman, the complexion of whose countenance put to shame the flowers in the garden and whose musky ringlets cast into shade the dark *sanmbal* flower of the grove, came to bathe with some women of her own age and status and went by with a pot full of water. The dervish, bewitched at a single glance by her beauty, asked for water. The angelic woman smiled and said, "Stretch out your palm." The dervish did so. The rose-faced woman sprinkled water in his hand. The woman, with her gaze fixed upon him, poured out all the water. The enchanting creature smiled and proceeded on her way. The dervish followed her. When the ruby-cheeked woman went inside her house, the lover (dervish) entered too, overcome by her spell. He fell into an ecstasy and remained unconscious at her door for some time. He came back to his dwelling, wept, and heaved out cold sighs from his warm heart.

On another occasion this woman came with some other nymph-like companions to bathe. As soon as he caught sight of her, shining like a star, he was dazed by her beauty. With a side-long glance this woman smiled and the world seemed to be brimming with abundance. She said, "Would you not like a draught of water." When the dervish found the spring of his life flowing to him, he stretched out his hand and drank water from this fountain of the water of life. When some time had passed in such exchanges of glances, the report of their mutual attraction started to spread among the public. The father of this woman forbade her to go to the

1 *T. S. B. I.* 63-64

river, and the poor dervish was deprived of the sight of his beloved's beauty that sustained his life. He passed his days in grief and weeping until the day of the bathing festival when the women appeared, decked out with all their gold and ornamets. This woman too, wearing a gold-embroidered blouse and ornaments, set with pearls, followed them. At length she reached the spot where the dervish was sitting by the road-side, in anticipation of such a beautiful bouquet. As soon as he caught sight of her, he ran and fell at her feet, consigning his life to the beloved. She no sooner saw his plight, than she too laid her head at the feet of dervish and let the bird of her life fly away.

هم تو ملی پیتم سوں جای ـ بوند گی دریا سمای

हम तो मिलो पीतम सौं जाई। बूँद गई दरिया समाई।

I was united with my beloved,
As a drop is lost in the ocean.

The people, astonished at the sight, put their finger to their teeth in amazement. The news reached Dariya Khan Julwani who was the ruler of the place. On receiving the report, he rode to the place where this couple lay stabbed by the dagger of love. He summoned the *ulema* of the town and called for their decree. They said that this woman had left the world sincere in the faith and had become a Muslim in accordance with the canon-law. And she could by no means be consumed in fire. Meanwhile, a thousand Hindus had assembled in order to burn her body. Dariya Khan said, "This woman has died a Muslim. You have no right to do that." The situation came to such a pass that the fire of mutual hostilities seemed likely to break out. A dervish in tatters appeared and said to Dariya Khan, "Why do you make this enquiry? Leave this woman in the hands of the Hindus, so that the hand of the Almighty might be seen." Dariya Khan agreed. The Hindus carried this woman away and having collected fire-wood, set fire to it; but it did not burn. It was again ignited, inflammable as wool soaked in oil, but no flame arose. People were bewildered. Eventually they set her in the midst of the pile of wood and returned home. Dariya Khan buried this woman by the side of the dervish. The Hindus

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It is suggested that दरिया should be दरियाव to meet the measurement of the previous line. T. S. B. I. 104-107

sent people to exhume her from the grave and throw the body into the Jamuna. But though they dug the grave as deep as they could, no trace of her could be found.

iii. In a certain village, a man became a guest in a Kajhi's (کاجھی) house. It is the practice amongst the villagers that when a guest visits a particular household, the lady of that house brings him water to wash his hands and feet with and offers him stool to sit upon. Here also the wife of the Kajhi fetched water for the guest, and he began to gaze upon her. Afterwards she went back inside the house and the man looked lingeringly after her. She had understood his look. When the meal was ready, the lady served it, but he was absorbed in watching her. He stayed here the following day, and then started on his journey. He returned after some time. It so happened during the interval the lady had died. She was burnt and her ashes were put in a container and kept suspended. The guest was asked to stay, but somebody else brought water and a stool. The man realised she was not there. He sat down for a while and looked around, but did not see the lady he had liked before, He said to someone "So and so is not here" ? "She has died" came the the reply and her ashes and bones are in that hanger. The man raised his head and looked up. At once the bones and ashes came down on his head. The man fell into a swoon and died. These are the effects of love's passion.

That age has left its mark ; for the strange things that happened in love,
but in our age neither love nor the times, leave any mark,
for the people who lived in that age are gone.

Blessed are the people of an age which has a beneficent ruler.
God gives a good ruler to people who are good to each other,
If he seeks to ruin a country, he sends down a tyrant.

CHAPTER III

Sketch of the reign of sultan Ibrāhim, son of sultan Sikandar.

When sultan Sikandar was received into the mercy of God, the ministers and the high grandees of the realm elevated his eldest son sultan Ibrahim to the throne. Astrologers, proficient in the reading of stars, chose an auspicious hour for his coronation and he ascended the august throne of Hindustan on the 8th Ziqada, 923 AH/ Sunday, 22nd Nov. 1517 A. D.[1] Gold was scattered profusely on his parasol. High and low offered him homage and allegiance and he was elevated to the high position of royalty. But as the nobility,—the self-seekers among them in particular,—did not like that total power and absolute authority be concentrated in a single person and the reins of full administrative power, be held in one hand, it was decided by them for the sake of their own gain, advantage, and self interest that sultan Ibrahim, after he had taken his seat firmly on the throne, should rule the country as far as the border of the kingdom of Jaunpur, while Prince Jalal Khan should set himself up on the throne of Jaunpur and govern the territory ruled over by the Sharqi kings. They ignored, however, the fact that sovereignty, when divided, did not flourish and two swords could not be contained in one scabbard.

May the poet be blest who said,
"One body cannot hold two souls,
One kingdom cannot contain two kings.'

In accordance with this solem agreement and covenant, Prince Jalal Khan started for the place. When he reached Kalpi, he indulged for a few days in amusement. making trips, and hunting, and appointed 'Azam Humāyun Sarwani's son Fath Khan to the office of wazir. At this news Khan Jahan Lodi,[2] a high grandee of sultan Sikandar who held the town of Rapri in fief, came to sultan Ibrahim and after offering him the customary congratulation admonished and reproached the emirs, vakils and grandees of the realm saying that the division of royalty had been a great blunder, and that it would be impolitic to implement such an agreement and some steps should be

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1 According to *C. H. I.* III, sultan Ibrahim ascended the throne on the day of his father's death. *T. A.*, *T. D.* Sarkar *Ms f.* 112. *T. S.* 64, place his accession on the following day, 8th Ziqad/ 22nd Nov.

2 According to *T. A. T. D. f.* 119. *M. T.* and *T. F.* Khan Jahan Nuhani offered this advice.

taken immediately to rectify such an error. After much discussion it was settled that as prince Jalal Khan had not yet firmly established his power there, nor had he asserted his authority—nay, he had not yet placed his foot-steps in the capital of that kingdom—*a farman* written in gracious words should forthwith be sent to him stating that an emergency having arisen which could not be decided without conferring with him, it was urgently needed that he should return swiftly to the court by forced marches with a light retinue, immediately on receipt of the *farman.* The sultan sent Haibat Khān Gurg-Āndāz[1] who had no equal in intrigue and diplomacy to Jaunpur. *In accordance with the saying, 'The walls have ears', this news* had travelled to Kalpi, before Haibat Khan had arrived there. Accordingly when he proceeded swiftly across the stages to his destination, the prince, by means of his insight, got scent of his treacherous and mischievous designs, and notwithstanding his trickery. subterfuge, all sorts of flattery, coaxing and wiles, he declined to go back to Agra. He gave smooth and evasive replies and took recourse to various subterfuges. Haibat Khan reported the matter to His Majesty who deputed a number of high dignitaries like Shaikh zadah sultan Muhammad, son of Shaikh Sa'id Farmuli, Malik Ismail, son of Malik 'Alāuddin Julwani and Qazi Hamiduddin Hājib (chamberlain) to summon the prince. When they went to him, they tried various devices to induce him to go back, but their blandishments were of no avail and took no effect. The prince did not bend his steps towards Delhi and Agra, and each of the three persons went back to the sultan and represented the whole matter to him. Acting under the advice of wise councillors, the sultan issued *farmans* to the emirs, *hakims* and landowners of the kingdom of Jaunpur, bestowing upon them special favour in accordance with their respective status and offering them certain hints and veiled suggestions. The core of them was that they should consider it incumbent to abstain from offering prince Jalal Khan their homage and fealty, disobey his order and decline to serve him. The sultan sent each of them through one of his confidential and high officers, a horse, a special *khilat* and a jewelled waist-dagger. Dariya Khan Nuhani, *hakim* of Bihar, Nasir

1 For an account of Haibat Khan's career, *Vide Tārikh-i-Shāhi* B. I. Text, 109-110. It is stated that he shot down at Bayana a pair of wolves with a single arrow and thereby won the epithet of گرگ انداز

Khan, feofee of Ghazipur and Shaikhzadah (Muhammad Farmuli), *zabita* of Oudh and Lucknow (each of them having a body of thirty to forty thousand cavalry)[1] instigated and encouraged them to serve him faithfully. On receiving the royal *farmans*, they threw off their allegiance to Jalal Khan and assumed a hostile attitude. At this news sultan Ibrahim adorned and decorated his throne with rare jewels, and having installed it in the royal palace, took his seat on it on the 15th Zihijja, 923 AH/ Tuesday, 29th December, 1517 A. D.[2] and held a grand banquet. He conferred *khilats*, jewelled waist-daggers, horses, elephants, high posts and lucrative fiefs on the leading nobles, grandees, and the entire body of troops, in keeping with their respective status and fastened rings of obedience into their ears. He won and drew them to his cause by favour, kindness, and liberality and all people, high and low, acquiesced in his rule. He was lavish in his charity to the faquirs and needy persons and added to their quotas of rent-free land, allowances and stipends alloted to them previously. He made gifts and presents to the pious men, recluses and religious notables. The affairs of the sultanate acquired a new spendour and the business of administration stability.

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1 According to *T. A.* B. I. 342, *T. D.* f. 120, the emirs collectively had a retinue of 80 to 40000 horsemen.

2 In *T. A.* B. I. Text, 348, *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, I. 480, this second coronation is marked out as the date of his accession to the throne. *T. S.* B. I. text, 66, supports it, in rather confusing words, instead of writing پنجدهم ذی حجه Ahmad Yādgar writes روز پنج شنبه ده ذی حجهم

I

Sultan Ibrahim opposed by a faction of the nobility

When Jalal Khan became aware of it, he, guided by the advice and counsel of his partisans, adopted an attitude of hostility. He relinquished all hope of ruling over the kingdom of Jaunpur and raised his head in rebellion against his brother at Kalpi. Counselled by his favourites he caused the *khutba* to be read and the coinage engraved in his name. He established himself at Kalpi under the title of sultan Jalāluddin and took up the task of organising the army, and household troops and fire-throwing machines, and all the other appliances of war and the conciliation of the zamindars. When he acquired strength and stability, he marched with a large army against Azam Humayun who was engaged in the siege of Gwalior and sent efficient vakils to him saying, "I regard you as my father and uncle and you know there is nothing amiss on my side. The treaty has been violated by sultan Ibrahim who intends to usurp my share of the paternal dominion and property. He has struck off the bond of friendship and concord with the sword of broken word and has snapped off all ties of relationship. It is now your duty, as an honest Muslim, to uphold truth, support the claims of justice and befriend the wronged." As Azam Humayun was displeased with sultan Ibrahim, he was moved by the financial weakness, perplexity and coaxing words of sultan Jalāluddin. In short, he did not feel strong enough to contend in arms with the prince, and having suspended hostilities and siege of the Gwalior fort, he came to sultan Jalāluddin. After signing an agreement and covenant with him, he first undertook to subjugate the kingdom of Jaunpur, clear it of all rebels and then adopt a policy that would safeguard their common interests. In accordance with this plan, they marched towards Oudh, and attacked the local *hakim*, Sa'id Khan, son of Mubārak Khan. Unable to hold his own against them, Sa'id Khan fled towards Lucknow and reported the matter to sultan Ibrahim.[1] On hearing this news the sultan wanted to undertake an expedition against his brother with a small body of light troops and chosen warriors, but he rejected this plan in accordance with the advice of his courtiers and ordered his imprisoned brothers such as princes Ismail Khan, Husain Khan and Shaikh Daulat Khan to the fort of Hansi,

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1 *T. A. T. D.* and *M. A.* use almost the same words in giving this account.

to be confined there under strict guard. He assigned a couple of women to look after each of them and ordered other necessaries of life, such as food-stuff, clothing, fruit and all other things that were needed, to be supplied to them.

On the 24th Zihijja,[1] 923 AH/ Feb. 1518 A. D. he started for the eastern provinces and reached the town of Bhongaon by forced marches. From this place he resolved upon a march to Kanauj. In course of the journey, he received report that 'Azam Humayun and Fath Khan, being estranged from Jalāl Khan, were proceeding towards the royal threshold. The sultan was very much delighted and happy at this news and felt greatly strengthened. When Azam Humayun reached the neighbourhood of the royal camp, the sultan sent a body of eminent emirs to receive him. After he had won the honour of admittance into the threshold, he was distinguished with the grant of a jewelled waist-dagger and a special *khilat*.

About this time certain zamindars[2] of Jartoli belonging to the *pargana* of Kol, which was known widely for having been the habitation of the rebellious Meos,[3] fought 'Umar Khan, son of Sikandar Khan Sur and had him killed. Malik Qasim, *hakim* of Sambhal, marched upon them and dealt with them effectively. Their commander was killed and the rebellion quickly stamped out.

Azam Humayun had the honour of an interview with the sultan at Kanauj. Most of the Jaunpur nobility, e. g. Said Khan, Shaikhzadah (Muhammad) Farmuli deserted from Jalal Khan to sultan Ibrahim, and were enrolled among his favourities. The sultan felt very composed at heart and after a few days, deputed a large body of troops that thirsted for blood, and elephants deadly as serpents and ferocious as crocodiles under the command of Azam Humayun Sarwani and Nasir Khan Nuhani against his brother Jalal Khan, but before their arrival at Kalpi, Prince Jalal Khan had commenced marching towards the capital city of Agra, with a body of 30,000 cavalry and

1 Abdullah, (*T. D.* f. 128) Ferishta, (*T. F.* 189) and Nizamuddin (*T. A.* 345) place the event of sultan Ibrahim's march towards Jaunpur at this date.

2 According to Nizamuddin '*Manchand*', according to Ferista '*Jaichand*', zamindar of Jartoli killed in battle Umar Khan. It occurs to me that the word چند meaning 'certain being prefixed to other letters has caused this confusion.

3 The *rendering of Mawas* into a place-name by B. De is ridiculous. The word apparently signifies the 'Meo' tribesmen who were settled in this area.

and a number of elephants, leaving Nia'mat Khatun, .the wife and family of Qutb Khan Lodi, Imad-ul-Mulk, Malik Badruddin Julwani and all the connexions of his own wife in the fort of Kalpi. His intention was to seize Agra, if possible, and create a disturbance in that region. On reaching Kalpi, the chiefs fought with fire-throwing machines[1] for a few days, obliging the garrison to make over the key of the fort which thereupon yielded to them. The city was given up to pillage and an immense booty fell into the hands of the sultan's army. On hearing the news of Jalal Khan's march towards Agra, Malik Adam Kakar was deputed to advance by forced marches to that city at the head of a large army for organising the defence. Jalal Khan, having reached the vicinity of Agra, wanted to sack this city as a reprisal for that of Kalpi. By this time Malik Adam Kakar too had marched back to the city. He kept the prince at play by such soft words and speeches as were pleasing to him and gained thereby time for saving the city from pillage.

After a few days Malik Ismail Julwani, Kabir Khan Lodi, Bahadur Khan Nuhani, came to reinforce Malik Adam Kakar with a number of emirs and a large body of troops for the defence of the city. Malik Adam had a great accession of strength and sent a message to prince Jalal Khan saying that if he gave up the desire and hankering for royalty and behaved like a nobleman, relinquishing umbrella, kettledrum, the right of coinage and other insignias of royalty, he would apply to sultan Ibrahim for remission of his offences and have the fief of Kalpi restored to him as before. The prince, lacking both strength and ability, agreed to these terms and surrendered to Adam Khan all the paraphernalia of royalty.

verse : So long as you do not achieve greatness,
You cannot take your seat in the ranks of the greatmen.

Malik Adam Kakar took all these emblems of royalty from Jalal Khan, had them conveyed to Etawa[2] and placed before the sultan who had gone there from Kanauj. He laid all the facts before the sultan who, out of self-conceit, arrogance, youthful vanity and abundance of

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1 The words used in the original are. توپ and تفنگ "Tafang", but guns and mortar were unknown in India during sultan Ibrahim's reign.

2 Sultan Ibrahim returned from Kanauj to Etawah about March-April, 1518. According to Nizamuddin the sultan started for the campaign against Jalal Khan, 24th Zihijja/6th Feb. 1518 A. D.

military equipments, rejected these terms and started on the march to subdue the prince. At this perplexing news, the prince sought asylum with the Raja of Gwalior. Sultan Ibrahim now firmly established himself at Agra. The affairs of the kingdom which had been shaken during Jalal Khan's rebellion became stable again. The nobility and the entire body of disloyal persons came back to the path of allegiance and submission and the business of royalty gained a new brilliance.

Sultan Ibrahim appointed Haibat Khan Gurg-Āndāz, Karimdād, and Daulat Khan Indar to undertake the defence of Delhi[1], and Shaikhzadah Manjhur to the government of Chanderi and guidance of prince sultan Muhammad[2], grandson of sultan Nasiruddin Khalji of Malwa ; while he engaged himself in excursion and chase, management of civil and revenue matters and those relating to the army and the peasantry.

The administration of justice had been assigned to Malik Bhuā who was an eminent noblemen under sultan Sikandar, sagacious and wise, but he could not discharge his duties properly, owing to his old age, physical debility and natural infirmities of age. He paid scant regard to royal wishes for which sultan Ibrahim became displeased with him[3]. Eventually matters came to such a turn that the sultan put him in chains and handed him to Malik Adam Kakar. He, however, cherished his son who had been in the royal service and promoted him to a position higher than that of his equals, by conferring upon him his father's rank, fief and the office of judge, shortly after Miyan Bhua had offered his soul to the Almighty.

1 This event may be assigned to Feb-March 1519 A. D. when Babur occupied a portion of Western Panjab and sent his envoy Mulla Murshid to Daulat Khan Lodi, claiming the Panjab as his heritage. *King, Memoirs of Babur, II.* 99.

2 Babur in his Memoirs expressly refers to the conquest of Chanderi having taken place during the reign of Sikandar. As stated before the occasion came when the kingdom of Malwa was torn by a civil war between the the followers of Medini Rai and the party of Muslim noblemen. Coins were minted at Chanderi in sultan Ibrahim's reign, *C. C. I. M. II.* 245.

3 According to T. S. 75, Miyan Bhua was the chief-minister of sultan Sikandar for 28 years, but he incurred Ibrahim's displeasure on account of his inattention to royal wishes کم خدمتی in the words of Abdullah. The account as given by him suggests that Miyan Bhua was not favourably disposed towards the young sultan. He was in league with the old guards of the Lodi empire, such as Daulat Khan Lodi of the Panjab (*T. D. f.* 148) and made hardly any effort to win them over to the side of sultan Ibrahim.

II

Capture and Reduction of Gwalist

During this period it occurred to sultan Ibrahim that his father and grandfather had constantly thought of conquering the fortress of Gwalior and other strongholds of that region and had marched with their army several times, but they could not realise their wishes. He thought that if fortune befriended him and destiny favoured him, he, by dint of firm resolution and persevering efforts, might win a victory which would satisfy the spirits of his departed ancestors and spread his fame. Therefore, with the determination befitting the royalty, the sultan deputed Azam Humayun Sarwani with a body of 30,000 warlike cavalry, skilled in the use of sword and 350 elephants to the conquest of Gwalior. He detached a body of auxiliaries under such leaders as Bhikan Khan Lodi, Jalal Khan Lodi, Sulaiman Farmuli, Ismail Khan, Malik Firuz Aghwan, Bahadur Khan Sarwani, Khizr Khan Lodi, Khizr Khan Nuhani and Khān Jahan with a troop of elephants to Gwalior. By chance, the Raja of Gwalior who was pre-eminent in liberality and bravery among the Rajas of Hindustan had died at this time.[1]

It is said that though Raja Man outwardly claimed to be a Hindu, yet he had inwardly accepted the nobility of the creed of Islam and owing to the sincerity of his faith in Islam, no Muslim ruler could

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1 Sultan Ibrahim's attack on Gwalior which took place immediately after the Raja's death is assigned by Ferishta to 1518 A. D. Raja Man's death might therefore be placed in the same year.

2 توپ و تفنگ is rendered by me into fire-balls, as fire-arms were not in use in India at that time. According to David Ayalon, author of the "*Gun-powder and Fire arms in the Mamluk Kingdom*" the cannon was most probably introduced into Europe between 1325-50 A. D. He evidently based his observation on Sarton's statement that fire-arms that is small cannon were used in the second quarter of the 14th century, (Introduction to the History of Science iii, 725-26). Prof. P. K. Gode refers on the authority of *Rasmala* to the use of muskets by the Gujrati king Mahmud Begada against the pirates of Bulsar in 1482 A. D. Denison Ross Com. Volume, 118. In a recent publication, *History of Fire-works in India*, he refers to the introduction of fire-arms in Kashmir during the reign of Zain-ul-Abedin, (1420-70 A. D.) and the use of pyrotechny in Vijaynagar on the occasion of the Ramnavami festival in 1448 A. D. Rockets were, however, used on the occasion of *Shab-i-Barat* during the reign of sultan Firuz of Delhi, in 1351-88 A. D. (*vide* my article in the procgs. of Ind. Hist congress, Hyderabad session, and Afif's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, B. I. 365. The use of guns and muskets was, however, unknown in India previous to 1526 A. D.

gain an ascendancy over him. He was perpetually at war and during his life-time no sultan cherished the ambition of reducing Gwalior.

Being deputed by sultan Ibrahim, Azam Humayun went and laid siege to the fort. On the first day the manly heroes, seeking action, led the assault as far as the inner citadel, known as Bādalgarh. Most of them were struck down by fire-balls directed at them and left behind them records of valour. A bronze-bull[1] which was worshipped by the Hindus had been installed in front of the gateway. The Afghans took it away forcibly from them by the power of their archery and sent it to the sultan who was highly delighted. He ordered it to be removed to Delhi. It was thrown before the Bāghdād gate, and lay in front of the Red Gate, until the reign of emperor Akbar, vice-gerent of God. In 999 AH/1590 A. D. it was melted and cast into a mortar by His Majesty's order and continues to exist in the government lumber-room. This humble writer had seen both of them.

In short, the sultan lost confidence in the nobles of sultan Sikandar's times and imprisoned most of them. Prince Jalal Khan, unable to bear the blows of Ibrahim Shah, came out of Gwalior and went to sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa. Displeased with his behaviour, he tried to effect his escape to Gadhakantaka, and was intercepted by a body of Gonds on the way. They sent him as a prisoner to sultan Ibrahim in order to win his favour. The sultan ordered him to be confined with his own brothers in the fort of Hansi, but counselled by some of his well-wishers, he forced the cup of martyrdom to his lips. verse :

For the sake of this brief transitory life,
The king violently spills the blood of his hundred-year-old brother.
He puts the crown of the satin on the head, and scatters the ashes of sorrow on the head of others.
This is a world that would certainly perish. Happy are they who do not harm the God's creatures.

1 According to *T. D. f.* 129 and *M. T.* 327, it was a bronze camel. ستروزین According to *T. S.* 75 it was made of copper. Badauni says that the metal was melted and cast into gongs, and other implements.

As the sultan became embittered towards the nobles,[1] he summoned Azam Humayun[2] who then engaged in the siege of Gwalior was on the brink of reducing this fort, to Agra, and threw him into prison with fetters. When this news reached his son, Islam Khan, he raised the standard of rebellion in the town of Kara-Manikpur. He seized all the Government property and effects and declined to hand over authority to Ahmad Khan who was appointed to take charge of it. Jalal Khan rose in rebellion and assembled an army. Ahmad Khan engaged him in a fight, but was defeated. On hearing this news, the sultan wanted to nominate somebody in order to curb the rebels and put down this rising.

III

Unrest and opposition of the Afghan nobles

About this time 'Azam Humayun and S'aid Khan Lodi, who had been the leading nobles of the sultan, fled to Lucknow which was assigned as their fief, from a sense of the deadly fear of sultan Ibrahim. They endeavoured to stir up a general rising by correspondence with Islam Khan. The sultan deputed Ahmad Khan, brother of Azam Humayun Lodi, sons of Husain Farmuli, Majlis-i-Ali Shaikhzadah Muhammad Farmuli, Ali Khan, Khan Khanan Farmuli, Masnad-i-Ali Bhikari Khan Farmuli, Dilawar Khan Sarang Khani, Qutb Khan, son of Ghazi Khan Biloti, Bhikan Khan Nuhani, Sikandar Khan, son of

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1 The Afghan chronicles accuse sultan Ibrahim of wanton cruelty and violence, one of them being the burning of the old wazir Miyan Bhua in an underground chamber. The story as told by Ahmad Yadgar is unreliable (*T. S.* B. I. 75-76).

2 According to Ferishta, sultan Ibrahim treated the Afghan nobility with haughty disdain. Sultan Ibrahim declared, "Kings do not know the ties of race or kinship. All equally are his subjects and should pay his homage. The eminent Afghan nobles who sat in the court of sultans Bahlol and Sikandar, were obliged to stand with folded palm before the throne," *T. F.* (N. K. Press), 158. The Afghan chronicles make Asam Humayun a pattern of leyalty which is refuted by his record. *T. S.* B. I. 83-86. He became the staunch adherent of Prince Jalal Khan and then deserted from him to sultan Ibrahim. He was a political turn-coat and therefore distrusted by sultan Ibrahim.

Malik Adam and others at the head of a large army against Islam Khan and the body of rebels. When they reached the border of Bangārmau near Kanauj, Iqbal Khan, commander of Azam Humayun's household cavalry, suddenly rushed out of an ambush, at the head of 5000 horsemen and a number of elephants. The rebels cut off and wounded a large number of royalists and having scattered the rest, wheeled back to safety.[1]

When this news reached the sultan, he became annoyed and disgusted and sent a *farmān* to the commanders saying that if they failed to chastise the rebels and liberate the country from their control, the sultan would depute another batch of emirs to reinforce them as an additional safeguard and precautionary measure. The insurgents mustered a body of 40,000 mailed horsemen and 500 elephants. When after having sighted each other, they drew closer and were about to engage in arms, Shaikh Rāju Bukhari, the foremost religious divine of the age, intervened and restrained the parties from hostility. He offered helpful advice and useful guidance to the rebels who apologised for their offence and said that if sultan Ibrahim set Azam Humayun Sarwani[2] at liberty, they would retire from his dominions into the territory and jurisdiction of some other king. Upon these terms both the armies withdrew to their respective camps. The nobles made a representation of the rebels' demands to the court whose display had the splendour of the firmament. The sultan rejected it, as it was opposed to his lucid judgment and ordered Dariya Khan Nuhani, *hakim* of Bihar, Nasir Khan, Shaikhzadah (Muhammad) Farmuli to attack with their forces the rebels from that side and quell the rising. As the armies converged upon them from two different directions, the rebels, out of a sense of pride, paid scant regard to the sultan's good luck and to the impetuosity of the (royal) army which was as mighty as that of Solomon. Both the armies drew up in rows, in divisions of the right, left, centre and rear. The brave warriors

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1 Ferishta assgns this event to 1519 A. D.

2 The wide-spread rebellion organised on behalf of 'Azam Humayun is an evidence of his influence. According to Ahmad Yadgar, he had a retinue of 12,000 horsemen, (*T. S.* 88); According to Rizqullah, as the governor of Kara-Manikpur, he had a force of 45000 cavalry and 700 elephants. One of his sons Fath Khan had a contingent of 10,000 cavalry (*T. S.*), another son Islem Khan succeeded Azam Humayun in the government of Kara (*T. S.* 85-86).

became so inextricably mixed up in fighting that it became a symbol for the Day of Judgment.

Disticks :

The drums struck up on both sides,
The atmosphere became blue and ground as dark as ebony.
Sparks blazed from the battle-axes and the scimitar,
Flashing like lightning across a dark cloud.
The atmosphere assumed an aspect of red, black and violet,
As the multicoloured flags of the standards waved in the air.
The earth resembled a stormy sea of black tar,
The waves being formed by the dagger, the battle-axes and the arrows.
As autumn leaves are shed from the trees,
So fell blows of battle-axe like rain-drops on the helmet.
The commanders' heads rolled like balls on the battle-field,
The lances fell like the polo-sticks.

So many heads dropped on the field that an enumeration of them was beyond human capacity. Blood streamed across the earth. Such a great battle was fought that the people of that age having seen it became dumb with astonishment. Ultimately the rebels who had made ingratitude, rebellion and disloyalty, their upper garment, and added treachery and faithlessness, as their lower garment were thrown into great distress and perplexity. Almighty God caused the breeze of victory to blow on the tassels of the standard of sultan Ibrahim's army and the rebels were defeated. Islam Khan was slain on the battle field ; Said Khan Lodi fell a prisoner into the hands of Dariya Khan Nuhani's officers. The royal army gained a large booty. The rising was quelled. The rebels' valuables passed into the hands of the royal officers When the news was conveyed to the sultan by post-horse, he was highly pleased and gratified and distributed a large sum of money among the dervishes and faquirs. As the sultan had not yet entirely removed from his mind the grudge he bore against the nobles and as his ill temper kept the courtiers and nobles of the realm in perpetual dread and suspicion, they kept their feelings of enmity concealed in the recesses of their mind.[1]

1 Identical version in *T. A.* and *T. F.*

Meanwhile Azam Humayun Sarwani and Miyan Bhuā who had been kept in confinement by command died in prison.[1] Dariya Khan Nuhani, *hakim* of Bihar and a foremost grandee (Amir-ul-Umara), Khan Jahan Lodi, Hasan Farmuli and others like them turned recalcitrant and raised the standard of revolt, owing to the dread and fear of the sultan which been uppermost in their minds. About this time Husain Farmuli,[2] *hakim* of Chanderi, was slain by the notorious Shaikhzadahs at a hint from the sultan. This affair widened still farther the breach between the nobility and the sultan. After sometime Dariya Khan Nuhani died. His son Bahadur Khan rebelled against the sultan and established himself in his father's position. The chiefs who had risen in arms formed a confederacy with him and instigated a rising in the region round Bihar. The force assembled by them rose to a lakh of horsemen. Bahadur Khan assumed the title of sultan Muhammad and caused the *khutba* to be read and the coinage engraved in his name. Meanwhile Nasir Khan Nuhani, *hakim* of Ghazipur, being defeated by sultan Ibrahim, came to sultan Muhammad whose authority now prevailed over the kingdom of Bihar. Sultan Ibrahim deputed a large army to quell the rising of Bahadur Khan. After they had met each other, a sanguinary battle took place, which continued for several days.

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1 According to *W. M. T. A. T. D. f.* 180 and *M. A.* they died in prison, but Ahmad Yadgar with his flair for embellishing his narrative with stories, writes that Azam Humayun was slain by order of sultan Ibrahim.

2 Husain Farmuli was a noted Afghan captain of war. As a lieutenant of Prince Nizam Khan (sultan Sikandar), he took a conspicuous part in defeating Tatar Khan, governor of the Panjab and reducing the province to submission. He won fame by conquering Saran and Champaran. He quarrelled with sultan Ibrahim, and joined Rana Sanga but deserted to the side of his royal master, after which he was appointed *hakim* of Chanderi. He outraged the sentiments of the Shaikhzadahs of the place who caused him to be assassinated, W. M.

Babur's arrival in India : Panipat Campaign.

Meanwhile the son[1] of Daulat Khan Lodi, *hakim* of Lahore, came to interview the sultan. Suspecting from the latters' conduct that he might be put under arrest, he fled to his father and reported the facts to him. When Daulat Khan found that there was no means of deliverance from the wrath and violence of sultan Ibrahim and that he lacked the resources to cope with him, he joined hands with Ghazi Khan Lodi, certain other emirs and the entire body of *jagirdars* of the Panjab. Alienated from the sultan, he sent letters to Kabul, welcoming the auspicious approach of *Gaiti-sitani* Muhammad Babur Padishah. The *Gaiti-sitani* (World-conqueror Babur) before undertaking his march, sent some of his distinguished officers under Alam Khan.[2] When they captured Lahore and Sialkot, they reported the matter to the *Gaiti-Sitani* who started on the campaign for the conquest of Hindustan on Rabi I.[3] 932/A. H./ Saturday 16th December 1525. When Alam Khan reached Lahore, he said to the Padishah's

1 According to the Afghan chroniclers, Abdullah, Ahmad Yadgar and Babur's own version, this son was Dilawar Khan. Hence the statement made on the authority of Ferishta and Badauni in *C. H. I.* III. 250, IV. 5, that Ghazi Khan was sent to Babur is not tenable. Ghazi Khan was the son of Daulat Khan. He exercised authority over a portion of the Panjab with his head-quarter at Malot, (*Memoirs*, 439-440).

2 This Alam Khan Lodi was the son of Sultan Bahlol. Nizamuddin wrongly calls him the son of sultan Sikandar (*T. A.* Eng. tr. III. 320). He had a very stormy career which is briefly set forth in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*. He rose against sultan Sikandar, fled to Gujrat and was given asylum by sultan Mahmud Begada. In 1524 he was summoned by a party of Afghan noblemen to head a rising against sultan Ibrahim. The reigning sultan Muzaffar Shah of Gujrat furnished him with a body of troops. He was hailed by his adherents as sultan 'Alauddin, but either deeming himself weak or being defeated by Ibrahim, he went to Babur at Kabul and solicited his help. At the end of Dec. 1525 he returned to India, tried his arms with sultan Ibrahim, was defeated and later on forced to rejoin Babur. He held a command under Rana Sanga at the battle of Kanwah, but was later on suspected of having instigated the rising at Jaunpur in 987/1581. He was thrown into prison from which he escaped to Gujrat under Bahadur Shah. Subsequently he took up arms on behalf of sultan Mahmud III, successor of Bahadur Shah and defeated Dariya Khan, but was eventually executed by his order. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Eng. tr. 276, 376, 418, 421, *T. A.* Eng. tr. I. 1-9, III, 319-20, 387.

3 On this day Babur effected the crossing of the Indus. A week earlier 9th Decm. he was encamped at Peshawar, *Memoirs*, 450, 452. Ahmad Yadgar records an interesting story in connexion with Babur's final invasion of India in 1525 A. D This account is

(Babur) officers "You have come with me as auxiliaries and you should march forward so that I can overthrow sultan Ibrahim and gain possession of Delhi".[1] The officers of Babur did not comply with this request. Alam Khan therefore separated from them, marched forward to Delhi at the head of 40,000 cavalry[2] and laid siege to the city. Sultan Ibrahim, on hearing this news, started from Agra with 80,000 cavalry.[3] Alam Khan, having abandoned the siege of Delhi, hastened to give battle and arrived within a distance of six *koss* of

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corroborated by Babur's *Memoirs*. According to this story, the very day on which Dilawar Khan arrived in Kabul, Babur knelt down and prayed that if mangoes and betel-leaves were sent to him as presents by Daulat Khan Lodi, he would take it as a sure augury for the conquest of Hindustan and curiously enough, to Babur's great surprise, Ahmad Khan Sarwani arrived at Kabul with betel leaves and mangoes preserved in jugs of honey. (*T. S.* 90, *Memoirs*, 440).

آخر شب بعد دوگانه بدرگاه مهیمن کارساز دست نیاز برآورد که آلها کارسازا اگر حکومت هندوستان نصیب من و آل من شدنی است ـ از هندوستان برگ تنبول و انبه سوغات دولتخان بیاید ـ اتفاقاً چون موسم انبه بود دولت خان انبهای نیم بخته در کوزهای شهد نشانده و برگ تنبول به مصحوب احمد خان سرونی بطریق تحفه بکابل فرستاد ـ دلاور خان بعرض رسانید که احمد خان فرستادهٔ دولت خان حاضر است ـ چون بحضور رسید ـ ان سوغات بنظر در آمد ـ شاه بابر از تخت بر خاسته روی نیاز بدرگاه بی نیاز بر خاک مالید ـ

1 According to the *Memoirs of Babur*, such a proposal was made by Alam Khan. Subsequently after the rejection of this request, he sent his son Sher Khan to Daulat Khan Lodi. King, *Memoirs*, II. 165.

2 According to the *Memoirs* by Mrs Beveridge, 456, Alam Khan had a total of 30,000 to 40,000 men The other sources, Abdullah, Ahmad Yadgar, Ferishta and Nizamuddin put the force at 40,000 men.

3 According to Ahmad Yādgar, sultan Ibrahim had advanced to Sonepat when he received the news of the leading Afghan nobles having laid siege to Delhi. Perturbed by this intelligence, the sultan went back to Delhi, *T. S.* B. 1. 93. This version is, however, refuted by Babur's *Memoirs*. According to it the sultan hearing this report, "led his troops to oppose them." The battle took place at the end of Dec., 1526. 'Ālam Khan had built up at this time a formidable confederacy consisting of Daulat Khan, and his sons, Ghazi Khan, Haji Khan, Dilawar, and Mahmud Khan, son of Khan Jahan. Ismail Julwani, Sulaiman Shaikhzada and a number of other Afghan emirs also joined him. It was agreed between the leading members, Daulat Khan and Alam Khan, that in case of their victory, the Panjab was to pass into the hands of Daulat Khan, while Delhi, Agra and the adjacent territories were to belong to Alam Khan. King, *Memoirs*, II, 165-66.

sultan Ibrahim's army. He drew up his forces at dead of night and made a night-attack upon sultan Ibrahim. The royal army, unable to hold them, became scattered, and the sultan retired to a corner with five to six thousand of his chosen officers, confidants and followers. When the day dawned, intelligence was brought that Alam Khan was yet in the field with two to three hundred of his horsemen and the rest was engaged in pillage and loot. Sultan Ibrahim, finding the moment favourable, moved forward like a mountain of steel, and attacked the army of 'Ālam Khan[1] who, unable to stand up in opposition, fled from the field towards *the Miyan-i-Doab.* The flower of his army was slain and the rest scattered in all directions like the constellation of the Bear. Sultan Ibrahim won the glory of a victory.

By this time *Gaiti-Sitani* (Babur) had arrived at Lahore. Daulat Khan and Ghāzi Khan, having proved false to their oaths and promises violated the treaty and withdrew to the fort of Malot.[2] Mir Khalifa who was an eminent nobleman and a pillar of the state marched to that side and conducted Alam Khan to the presence of *Padishah* Babur. He won high favour. After sometime Daulat Khan too came and submitted to Babur.[3] Dilawār Khan honoured himself by appearing before Babur at Lahore. *Gaiti-Sitani* having captured Lahore, started for Samana and Sunnama and sent Tardi Beg Khan[4] to reconnoitre in

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1 It is stated in the *Memoirs* that Alam Khan "started at fall of day from a distance of 12 miles and unable to bring matters to a point, neither advanced nor retired but just sat on horseback for two or three watches. They delivered an attack *when one watch of night* remained. Sultan Ibrahim did not bestir himself till shoot of dawn." Beveridge, *Memoirs*, 456. As to the motives for night-attack. vide Memoirs, 456, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, 93, *Tarikh-i-Daudi* ff. 145-46. *T. A.* B. I. II. 5.

2 Daulat Khan with his sons Dilawar, Ghazi and Haji Khan, had become a formidable menance to sultan Ibrahim. Since the time of Tatar Khan, father of Daulat Khan this family had ruled the Panjab. (*T. S.* 89) and built up a considerable power, as attested by the account in the *Memoirs of Babur* (*Memoirs*, 451-461).

3 For details of Daulat Khan's submission and the circumstance under which Alam Khan came to Babur's camp, T. S. B. I. and King, *Memoirs*, II.

4 Tardi Beg Khan's name as the leader of this party of scouts does not appear either in the *Memoirs* or in the Afghan chronicles. This seems to be a misstatement or an error on the part of the scribe. Humayun was in command of the detachment that had a brush with Hamid Khan, *Shiqdar* of Hissar Firuza, 26th Feb. and Chin Timur sultan of the detachment that encountered Daud Khan and Hatim Khan on the 1st April. Tardi Beg had been accompanying Babur, but he was not assigned to the charge of either of the operations. King, *Memoirs*, II. 180-181.

advance at the head of a body of 4000 horsemen. Sultan Ibrahim, on his part, deputed Daud Khan, one of his distinguished nobles, with a body of 10,000 cavalry and a number of elephants to oppose the march of Tardi Beg Khan. At the report of Daud Khan's march, Tardi Beg Khan clad his troops with armour and made a night-attack on him.[1] Unable to cope with (the Mughals), Daud Khan's army suffered defeat ; a large number of them was killed : Daud Khan with seventy of his choicest men, was taken captive and his army broke up in confusion. When this news reached sultan Ibrahim, he was not disturbed in the slightest degree and marched to battle with kingly determination and royal courage, at the head of an army drawn up in serried ranks and consisting of one lakh of horsemen, 5000 elephants,[2] a large body of infantry and countless rockets. They encountered each other at the town of Panipat. Sultan Ibrahim drew up his forces in divisions of centre, right, left, van and rear and rushed forward to action. *Firdaus Makani* (Babur) too arrayed his troops, in divisions to left, right, centre, reserve, (on both sides of the centre) van and rear and advanced. A violently obstinate battle took place. On Friday, 7th Rajab,[3] 932 A. H. /April 21, 1526 defeat befell the troops of sultan Ibrāhim and a large number of men on both sides attained martyrdom. Sultan Ibrahim lay dead on the field in the midst of five thousand of his emirs, favourites and chosen body of his retainers. Shādi Khan Kākar, an eminent nobleman of the times, laid down his life with five hundred of his relations and friends in the service of the sultan and

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1 According to the *Memoirs*, by Mrs Beveridge 467-8, Chin Timur Sultan and Mahdi Khwaja led the detachment against Daud Khan and engaged him in the twilight of the *2nd April.*

2 This figure is evidently exaggerated. Babur estimates the number of elephants at about 1000, (*Memoirs* 468), according to Ahmad Yadgar, 2000 elephants, (*T. S.* 95), according to Abdullah, and Nizamuddin, 1000 elephants, (*T. D.* f. 148, *T. A.* B. I. II. 14).

3 The battle took place on the 8th Rajab, (*Memoirs*, 472) 7th Rajab in *M. A.* 100, 102, *M. A.* Aligarh Ms. *T. S.* 95, *T. D.* 148, *T. A.* 15). A Hindi verse quoted by Ahmad Yadgar dates the event on the 7th Rajab (*T. S.* 150) and is written as follows :

نوسی اوپر برهتا بتیسا — پانی پنته می بهارتهه دیسا
چوتهی رجب شکر وارا — بابر جت براهم هارا

Sir Lucas King says in a footnote that the 8th Rajab corresponded to Friday, *Memoirs*, II, 185.

the sultanate of Hindustan passed away from the Lodi family to the exalted Chagtay dynasty. Sultan Ibrahim's reign lasted eight years, eight months and thirteen days. He was buried in the western suburb of Panipat and his resting-place is now frequented by the singers and ministrels. Pilgrims make offerings every Friday night to the departed spirit of the sultan and make charity to the poor, so that the destitute have their needs met. In Hindustan no other king besides sultan Ibrahim won the glory of martyrdom, (May his soul rest in peace). The duration of the rule of the three Lodi kings was seventy five years and a few days.

An account of sultan Ibrahim's relation with some of his emirs and interesting facts about Rānā Sanga and *Farid Sur*, as sketched in *the W. M.* B. M. Mss.

Now I shall write an account of certain events that occurred during sultan Ibrahim's reign. Firstly, he arrested Azam Humayun and Miyan Bhuā, both of whom died in gaol. Others fled, of whom one was Dariya Khan, *wazir* of Bihar already mentioned in an anecdote, the other Miyan Husain Farmuli who was deputed under Miyan Mākan[1] against Rana Sanga, with a good number of officers and forty thousand cavalry.

(Subsequently) the sultan issued an order to arrest Miyans Husain and Maruf by some plea. Miyan Husain learnt of it. (Once) Miyan Makan went to Miyan Maruf's camp under the pretext of condoling the death of his son who had died at Mandu. Miyan Husain, having received the report of Miyan Makan's arrival, rode to Maruf's camp. When their talk took a lively turn, Miyan Maruf looked Miyan Husain in the face and said, "You should abandon such an idea as putting me and Miyan Maruf in chains, after having arrested us, and then sending us to the sultan for making away with us in the jail. Officers like us will not stand for such insult. You should resign from service. It is a fact that tigers and leopards cannot be captured, while alive. They cannot be manacled, so long as a breath of life remains in them. Get up and quit this place in safety. Our king has completely lost his sense. How could you too act in such a senseless manner ?" Miyan Makan left this assembly and on returning to his camp, reported the matter to sultan Ibrahim. After a short while the sultan issued another *farman* saying, "First put Miyan Husain under arrest ; why do you pay visits to other camps ? Put up the royal tents which have been assigned to you and call here the entire body of nobles to show honour and respect to the royal writ and during the reading of it put under arrest Miyan Maruf and Miyan Husain along with other nobles whose names were mentioned in it and send them in chains to my presence." Miyan Makan acted according to this advice and summoned the entire nobility (to his camp).

Miyan Sulaiman Farmuli arrived with a body of about five thousand warlike horsemen and ordered them to tear up the pegs of the royal tents so that they might topple down to the ground. His troops lined up all around Miyan Makan's camp and Miyan Husain said, "Miyan Makan, why don't you read the *farman*?" I have no order

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1 The name is written as Mākhan (ماکہن) in *T. S. B.* I. 78.

to read it in the present form," replied Miyan Makan. Miyan Husain said "It is difficult, nay impossible, to carry out the idea in your mind. We understant what it is. The march of the army was planned in order to effect our arrest. We are soldiers and shall never be remiss in our service to the king, fighting and laying down our lives. As we have been insulted, we cannot sacrifice our lives. The *kafir* Rana has come down upon us. Act according to the royal command. We are going to meet the Rana." Next morning Miyan Husain commenced his march and reached the village of Toda. The Rana's army was near the place. He sent a friendly message to the Rana, professing limitless affection and friendship and joined him. Most of the nobles of sultan Ibrahim agreed with him on this matter, e. g. Miyan Ism'ail Julwani, Miyan Lodha Kakar, Khizr Khan Lodi, Miyan Ma'ruf, Miyan Tah Farmuli, the last two being brothers.[1] The royal army resumed the march. But the troops marched without proper order or formation. Meanwhile Miyan Husain set the Rana with his troops and innumerable *mast* elephants against the royal army, while he personally moved slowly. Miyan Tah pressed him with insistence to increase the pace to which Miyan Husain replied that it was expedient to advance slowly. Miyan Tah said, "Tell me the reason, so that I may know the facts and cooperate with you". Miyan Husain said, "There are only two brave men in the (royal) army. I am anxious that they should not be killed : I am moving rather slowly so that they might escape in safety."

Suddenly the two armies came to a violent clash. An obstinate battle took place near the town of Bali. Eventually the royal army was defeated.

Meanwhile the report was received that Ibrahim Khan Sarwani was lying on the field with many wounds. The Rana's deputy, Sikha, was leading the van of the army. Ibrahim Khan rushed at him. He had a handful of men ; while the *kafir* (Sikha) confronted him with his entire contingent and elephants. The Khan unsparingly used his hands so long as he could. Being wounded, he became unconscious and dropped down from his horse. Shaikh Farid Turk was a Sur شیخ فرید ترک سور بود - که سپاه ابرهیم بود and a retainer

1 These lines do not occur in Add Ms 11, 688, but occur in or 1929, p 118.

of Ibrahim Khan. He alighted from the horse and holding a pair of spears in his hands, sat down over the corpse of Ibrahim Khan. Groups of elephants were set successively upon him, but he rushed at them with the two spears in his hands and drove them back. When Sikha saw his bravery, he said to his men. "He is a wonderful warrior. See that he remains unscathed. Tell him to throw off his arms. We shall not take away his life." When the words were spoken to Shaikh Farid, he said, "I do not care whether you kill me or take me prisoner. "The man who is lying in the field is my master and I am his retainer. Provide for his safety. I do not seek my own life." Sikha said, "What's his name ?" 'Ibrahim Khan Kalkapuri' was the reply.[1] No sooner did Sikha hear the name than he came down from the horse, picked up Ibrahim Khan and placed him on the elephant. He sent word to Miyan Husain who thereupon asked if he was dead or alive. The Miyan was informed that Ibrahim Khan had deadly wounds on his head, face and all parts of his body but had yet a breath of life left in him. Miyan Husain said to Miyan Tah "I was moving slowly and cautiously for the sake of two friends, one of whom is Ibrahim Khan, the other is Dariya Khan, son of Maruf Nuhani. One was found in such a state. It is certain the other will not be found alive. They began to search the dead bodies until he was discovered in the field among the slain." On seeing this Miyan Husain dismounted and picked him up along with his companions who had fallen at one place. Both the brothers Sultan Alauddin and Haibat Khan and their young sons, twelve to thirteen years of age, had won the glory of heros' death. Out of about eighteen of his personal retinue consisting of his brothers, nephews and their sons, one or two only had survived with wounds. Most of his body-guards also had been killed. The incident is as follows · When the report of the arrival of the Rana's force spread about, the royal army appeared to be in disorder and confusion.[2] Dariya Khan said to his

1 For Farids' connexion with the Sarwanis, vide Elliot, IV, 321.

2 This is clearly stated in *Ms* Add 11,639, though the words are vague in *ms* or 1999. The former *ms* says,

در حین که اواز امدن لشکر رانا انتشار یافت لشکر بادشاه را بسیار بی ترتیب ریراگنده یافتند

قریب نه ده نفر بودند و بعضی از سپاهی و خاصه خیل نیز بشهادت مشرف گردیدند قضیه کشتن ایشان چنان

بود که در حینی که آوازه آمدن لشکر رانا انتشار یافت لشکر بادشاه را بسیار بی ترتیب و پراکنده یافته با خبر در یافته

با برادر خود سلطان علاء الدین گفت ترتیب این لشکر چنین است مناسب نیست که از پیش اردو خود را

در کنار بکشیم سلطان علاء الدین گفت شما دیده چرا میگوئید دریا خان باز گفت محل بدر رفتن همین ست

که نظر بر لشکر مخالف می‌افتد رفتن نمیتوانیم عنان کشیده باز ایستادند تا لشکر بیگانه در نظر آمد سلطان

گفت اول میدانستم آوازه دروغ است الحال تحقیق شد که مخالفان رسیدند میدانستم که حرف صلح و اصلاح

در میان راه یافته بجنگ نخواهد انجامید و ما براه خود میرویم دریا خان جواب داد که رفتن یاوران وقت

که افواج مخالف پیدا نشده بود مناسب بود الحال که غنیم نمایان گردید از معرکه بدر رفتن لطف ندارد

و ما را دریا میخوانند و دریا بکجا بی خود حرکت می‌جنبد و مرا شرم می‌آید از نام خود قضا را حضرت شیخ

مصلح الدین منوّر الله قدس سره نگویم ز جنگ بر اندیشه ترس که در حالت صلح روز پیکار بیش

میدارزان میان حسینی فرملی با رانا قدم پیشتر نهاد سلطان ابراهیم این خبر شنیده لشکر بجانب

رانا کشید لشکر رانا تا لب آب کنهیر رسیده بود محلهای سلطان سکندر مرحوم که بالای آب کنهیر

بود خراب شد و یکی از اولاد سلطان بهلول غیاث الدین نام داشت او را بادشاه کرده بودند بودران

محلها فرود آمد و میان حسینی در دایره خود بود و هندوان در گوشه فرود آمده بودند چند متوره

همه سروران مسلمانان و هندوان با سلطان غیاث الدین نشسته بودند که ناگاه از دایره

هندوان نعره رام رام بر آمد جماعت هندوانی که در مجلس کنگاش بودند از نهاد ایشان هم نعره

رام رام ظاهر شد میان حسینی این نعره شنیده متغیر شد و انگشت تحیر بدندان نهاد

Afghan-Rajput Coalition from W. M. B. M. Ms.

brother, Sultan Alauddin, "These people do not appear to have been drawn up properly. It is expedient to separate ourselves from them as quickly as possible." Sultan Alauddin said, "It is not proper for us to quit, without having seen the enemy." Dariya Khan said, "This is the hour for flight. When the enemy troops will come within my sight, I shall not be able to take to flight." They took their stand until the enemy force came in sight. Sultan Alauddin said, "Now it is certain the enemy has arrived. At that time it was not certain and I took the report to be false, for a treaty had been concluded between them and us. If they had not come and we had gone away, it would have been disgraceful. Dariya Khan said, "That was the time for us to flee. Where we can we go now ?" They call me by the name of Dariya, but the river (dariya) does not forsake its own course. It would be the height of infamy if it I quit my post."

Shaikh Sadi (Peace be on him) has said :

"I do not say you should
fear fighting a malignant foe ;
But I advise you to watch him
during times of peace."

Miyan Husain Farmuli and the Rana began to advance. Sultan Ibrahim marched with an army from Agra. After the Rana had marched to the river Gambhira, he set fire to the villas built by the late sultan Sikandar on the bank of this river. A son of sultan Bahlol bore the name of sultan Ghiyasuddin. He was raised to the throne and accommodated in these houses. Miyan Husain was in his own camp. The entire body of Muslim and Hindu officers and sultan Ghiyasuddin were sitting together in one place when the cry of "Ram, Ram" arose from the side of the Hindus and those who were in this gathering joined this refrain.[1] On that day Miyan Husain shook his head and stopped up his ears with his fingers. (Atonce) the entire audience rose to their feet Miyan Husain retired to his tent, and baving called Miyan Tah to his side, said," Did you understand to-

1 The words in the other Ms are slightly altered but convey the same purport.

سرداران مسلمان و هندوان و سلطان غیاث الدین بکجا نشسته بودند که از دایرهای
هندوان نعره رام رام برخاستند و ان که درین جماعت بودند انها هما نعره زدند

day's affair and the nodding of my head? "No Sir" replied Miyan Tah. "I have grown old, said Miyan Husain, and all my life I have fought and engaged in hostility with the *kafirs*. In my old age how can I cultivate friendship with them? I have already declared that I do not bear the king any enmity." He does not pay any regard to me nor has he any consideration for my ability. I want to act in such a way that he becomes regardful of me and conscious of my worth and realises that the eminence to which I have been promoted from a humble position by the late sultan Sikandar and the fiefs which were assigned to me were due to my natural ability; otherwise even an incompetent person could accomplish remarkable things with the backing of an army and no special merit would have accrued to me in that case. I have done what I intended to do. I have yet another object to accomplish, viz to free Sayyid Khan Yusuf-Khail, and Fath Khan Sarwani, son of Azam Humayun, from imprisonment. I shall cease to harbour thoughts of hostility, if they come here and shall do what I consider fit."

The sultan set them at liberty with honorary robes. They collected an army and publicly started from Agra, marched forward and joined Miyan Husain. On his arrival, Sayyid Khan began to give himself airs from excessive pride. One day the Rana had called upon him when the report spread that Miyan Husain was coming. On hearing this news, the Rana was greatly perturbed and rose to leave before he came. Sayyid Khan said. "Why are you so upset? Please allow him to come here." At the very moment the aforesaid Miyan came to the tents of Sayyid Khan. The Rana came out of the tents and saluted him. Sayyid Khan stayed where he was. When he (Husain) came inside the tent, Sayyid Khan showed him due respect. He sat for a while and then retired. The Rana also accompanied him.

On another occasion when the Rana came to Sayyid Khan, the latter said. "Oh Rana! do you know who this Miyan Husain is?' He replied, "Yes; he is a highly respectable man, and a high ranking peer."1 میدانم که بزرگ اند و از امرا کلاں اند

1 Ms or 1929, f 121—2

Sayyid Khan said, "He is a *Shaikhzadah*, corresponding to the class of brahmins among you.

سید خان گفت ایشان شیخ زادهکانند برهمن می باشند

We have raised them to eminence, but we are the brothers of the king. Kingship belongs either to the Sahu-Khail or the Yusuf Khail. The rest are the servants of the Lodis.

ما ایشان را کلان کردیم ـ ما برادر بادشاه هستیم
یا شاهو خیل را شاهی میرسند یا یوسفخیل دیگران همه نوکران لودی اند

When the Rana came to Sayyid Khan, he offered him a present. The Rana had an excessive craving for riches. When he observed this generosity on the part of Sayyid Khan, he felt convinced that there was no one more honourable than he. He then entered into a close connexion with him and began to associate less and less with Miyan Husain.

One day Miyan Husain sent Miyan Tah to the Rana with a certain message. When Miyan Tah went there, he found all assembled in the Rana's tents including sultan Ghiyasuddin. The arrival of Miyan Tah was communicated, but the reply came that this was not time suitable haur. The Rana had retired for rest.[1] Miyan Tah went back to Miyan and related the whole fact. Miyan Husain said," These people have become unfriendly and arrogant, owing to the machinations of this scoundrel. They hardly realise that a conference which I shall not attend, will be fruitless. Does not this wretched fellow (Sayyid Khan) remember that the fetters from his legs and the halter from his neck were removed at my instance ? I shall see how their confederacy works out." He ordered Miyan Tah to go to sultan Ibrahim and tell him that he was offering him allegiance, and that his concern was to provide for those who had joined him in accordance with their respective claims.[2] "Sultan Ibrahim" the Miyan

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1 This sentence is taken from Ms Add 11. 688 رانا خواب کرده است

2 Ms Add 11.688 is here more explicit

برو که من قرار دادهام که در خدمت حضور سلطان باشیم که البته بهبود من درانست و می خواستیم که جمعی که با ما پیوسته و به امید واری تمام درایں اردو امده ملحق گشته اند سامان روزگار ایشان موافق مدعلی ایشان بکنم ـ my Ed. text f 207

added "is the son of my benefactor and I have been in their the service for three generations since the time of his grand-father. Tell him that it was my object to make him recognise the old servants of his father. I have now tendered my allegiance to him and whoever has joined me will serve him faithfully." Miyan Tah appeared before sultan Ibrahim and informed him that Miyan Husain had espoused his cause. Thereupon the sultan issued a *farman* saying, "Miyan Husain is my uncle. Let bygones be bygones." Three fiefs were mentioned in the *farman*, out of which he was given the option to chose anyone he liked, i. the fief of Saran and Champaran held by him previously ii. the fief of Chanderi, iii. the fief of Sambhal. Miyan Husain won over Miyan Lodha Kākar, Khizr Khan Lodi, Masnad i-Ali Fath Khan Sarwani to his side. When the Rana and Sayyid Khan learnt that Miyan Husain had joined sultan Ibrahim, they (the Rana and Sayyid Khan) attended by all their forces besieged the camp of Miyan Husain all night long.

It was the break of day when Miyan Husain learnt this fact. All of a sudden Miyan Husain called for his horse. Khizr Khan Lodi, Malik Lodha Kakar, and the force of Miyan Husain also came riding behind the Miyan who said to Malik Lodha and Khizr Khan, "Why are you putting on your armour ?" They replied, "All night long the enemy has remained drawn up and ready for action." "All the jackals are assembled", said the Miyan. Take off your armour and stay in your tents. It is my business and I shall deal with them. I do not want anybody to stand by me." He forbade his own following and did not take anybody with him. He rode in plain white clothes and did not strap on his sword. He took only two body-guards with him. One of his old retainers Sajjan سجہن (a Hindu, who had a charming tongue and seldom talked to anybody excepting the Miyan, also followed him. He forbade him saying, "You also remain in camp". Sajjan said, "I am not accompanying you. I am going to see the fun." من همراه شما نمی ایم برای تماشا می ایم A *Sati* (chaste woman) burns herself alive, and people gather together to see the sight. Likewise you are advancing singly to an encounter with one hundred thousand men. I am going to see this spectacle." The Miyan gave no reply and proceeded on until he entered the ring of the enemy. He got down from his horse in the midst of them and took his seat. He ordered one of his body-guards

to go to the Rana and the other to Fath Khan and Sayyid Khan and ask them to meet him.

On receiving this invitation, the Rana and Salahadi came without any attendant from one side and Fath Khan[1] came singly from the other side. Sayyid Khan did not come. When all of them sat together in one place, Miyan Husain said to the Rana, "I have seen and tried you. You have broken the agreement made with me and have abrogated the treaty. I am at a loss to understand what you are about. You may do whatever you may like. It is not possible for me to keep company with you any longer. It is now proper for us to divide into two armies, one of which would be under you, and whoever prefers to remain with you, will do so; whoever choses to follow me may do so. I have said what I had to say". Then he got up and holding Fath Khan and Salahādi by the hands, went on his way and said "What are you going to do? Would you favour the agreement made between Sayyid Khan and the Rana or would you support me?" They replied "What business have we got with the Rana? We prefer to follow you." "In that case the Miyan said I give you my word of honour that I shall first provide for you and then for myself." (At this turn of affairs), the Rana went back so precipitately that his camp was looted by the villagers, and he did not cast his gaze behind nor did he take any tents with him. On the first day he marched twenty-two *koss*. Sikha, the deputy of the Rana, said, "I wonder what sort of man this Miyan Husain is. He stood up in opposition to the sultan of Delhi with a body of only two hundred horsemen. Now when he has joined the Rana again, we having a force of 70,000 soldiers are running away, out of awe of him, in such a haste that we have no time to turn our gaze behind." Sayyid Khan also accompanied the Rana in flight as far as Dholpur. Sultan Ibrahim caused poison to be mixed in the Khan's drink by one of the latter's servants. When he lay in a precarious condition, Miyan Husain went to see him and asked if he had anything to say, adding "Sultan Ibrahim has summoned me and I am going to him What would you like to do" He said, "It is my avowed object that as long as I live, I shall not be an ally of sultan Ibrahim nor shall I give up drinking."

1 Ms or 1929, f 122 says Fath Khan Sarwani joined Miyan Husain but refers again to the junction of Fath Khan with Sayyid Khan. Ms Add, 11,633 does not make this confusion.

When Sayyid Khan said this, the Miyan got up. The Sayyid expired the very night. Miyan Husain came to sultan Ibrahim and accepted the fief of Chanderi. He brought Salahadi along with him and offered him some *parganas*. Fath Khan was granted the territory of Azam Humayun ; Malik Lodha the allowance of his father. The king did not grant any thing to Khizr Khan Lodi and said, "He was not in the royal service, but in his brother's employ. If his brother Miyan Bikhan grants him anything, let him take it. I shall not give him anything." For this reason Miyan Bikhan Khan became hostile towards him. Miyan Husain left for Chanderi and Fath Khan for his fief.

An account of Miyan Husain and Miyan Maruf's conduct towards Rānā Sāngā as sketched in the *T. S.* B. I. 79-83

Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghina gives a different version of the circumstances of Miyan Husain Farmuli's union with the Rana, the battle between Miyan Makhan and the Rana and the treacherous attack on the Rana by Miyan Maruf which is absent in other chronicles. Here is the translation from the *Tarikh-i-Shahi* : When Husain Khan realised that there was no escape from the violence of the sultan, he thought of joining the Rana and sent his vakil to him, informing him of his intended visit. The Rana was alarmed at the thought of the likely consequences. The report of Husain's bravery filled him with fear lest he might join him out of perfidious motives. Later on they made oaths and promises and Husain went to the Rana with four thousand horsemen. The Rana sent his nephew (brother's son) to receive him. Husain interviewed the Rana.

Owing to the desertion of Miyan Husain, Miyan Makhan felt absolutely helpless, inspite of his having 30,000 horsemen, and 300 hillock-like elephants under his command. Finding no other alternative, Miyan Makhan equipped his troops and took the field for contest with the Rana. The Rana too drew up his troops for the battle. Miyan Makhan sent word to Miyan Maruf posted on the right wing saying, "You are friendly with Husain Khan. He has now proved faithless and joined the sultan's enemy. What is the good of your remaining with us ?" Maruf Khan said, "We have faithfully served sultan Bahlol and his sons for thirty years I had been *Sipahsalar* (C. in-C) during the reign of sultan Sikandar and the fort of Chaund (Chanda in Sultanpur district ?) was captured by my exertions.

Then follows the reference to the conquest of Kangra [which is left out]

I seized seven maunds of gold from the Raja of Bihar (?).[1] Now during sultan Ibrahim's reign a new class of parvenus and upstarts has lifted their heads and I have been driven into the ranks of the faithless persons." After this incident Maruf Khan withdrew from the army and stood aloof.

About this time spies reported the arrival of the Rana's army in the neighbourhood. Miyan Makhan arranged his right and left. Sa'id

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1 The reference to the *Raja of Bihar* is meaningless. Is it *Tirhut* ترهت ?

Khan Fart, and Haji Khan with seven thousand horsemen, took their stand on the left ; while Daulat Khan, Alhādad Khan and Yusuf Khan did on the right. Miyan Makhan stood up in the van. Though Miyan Husain was displeased with Miyan Makhan, he did not encounter in person the sultan's army, out of fidelity to him نمک حلالی.

When the two armies were drawn up, the gladiators مبارزان turned towards the field. The Hindus took their lives in their hands and gave an account of their prowess. All of a sudden defeat befell the royal army. Almost all the picked warriors won the glory of heroes' death. And others fled to different places. Miyan Makhan, the commander and leader, having sustained a defeat which cost the death of God's creatures (his own men), went back to his halting place.

That very night Miyan Husain Khan sent word to Miyan Maruf saying, "You must have now understood the advantages of acting in concert. It was a pity that thirty thousand horsemen were defeated by a handful of Hindus. Now witness the consequence of a body grateful men acting together in concert." He sent a message secretly to Miyan Maruf asking him to march with his contingents equipped for action, when it was past midnight and join him. "You have now had an experience of Miyan Mākhan's leadership. It is now incumbent upon us to repay our gratitude to the sultan, though he does not appreciate the merit of the well-wishers of his father's time." . . . In short, Miyan Maruf equipped his six thousand horsemen for action and having marched two *koss* ahead of Miyan Husain, sent news to him. The two armies assembled at the appointed place. Intoxicated by his victory, the Rana was absorbed in pastimes and enjoyment and others were negligent . . . Suddenly the sound of drums and trumpets arose on all sides : the *kafirs* pulled the wool of negligence out of their sharp ears and became confused. The Afghans took up sword in their hands and made a general massacre. The Rana was wounded and fled with a handful of following. The rest were put to the sword. The news reached Miyan Makhan in the morning and filled him with shame.

Miyan Bayazid, son of Ata Lodi, the *bakhshi* (paymaster) of the army who was bound by ties with Miyan Husain, wrote a memorandum of victory and sent it to the sultan. Afterwards Miyan Husain Khan sent fifteen elephants, three hundred and four choice horses and other spoils to Delhi. The sultan rejoiced at this victory. (*T. S.* B. I. 79-83).

A note on sultan Ibrahim Lodi's career and his downfall, as sketched in the *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, (*Sarkār Ms*)

When the sultan was rid of his rivals and competitors in royalty, he became suddenly suspicious of the nobles of his father and intent on punishing them. Many of them hated him and were mortally afraid of him. Distrustful of the eminent grandees of Sikandar, he confined them. Miyan Bhuā, the foremost grandee of sultan Sikandar, became alienated from him, and though he had served a long period, became indifferent to his duties. This slackness in work intensified the sultan's distrust of him. Eventually it so transpired that Miyan Bhuā was gaoled with fetters in his feet and handed to Malik Adam. The sultan however favoured his son and promoted him to his father's post. After sometime Miyan Bhua died in prison[1] ....

p. 140. When Azam Humayun was engaged in the siege of Gwalior, and the fort was about to capitulate, sultan Ibrahim summoned him to his presence by deputing a large body of his troops. The nobles under Azam Humayun appeared before him and said "Is this the suitable hour for issuing the warrant ? It is certain that he wants to imprison and ruin you. You have now 15000 horsemen under you ; the prerogatives of the *Khutba* and the *Sikka* (coinage) rightfully belong to you." They had their statement affirmed by the decree of the theologians...and they unanimously disapproved his idea of going to sultan Ibrahim. 'Azam Humayun remonstrated saying that he could not act otherwise, as he had faithfully served the family for three generations and for the short period of life that he was destined to live, he did not like to incur the stigma of having been an ungrateful wretch. He abandoned the siege of Gwalior and started for Agra. He sent the nobles away and inspite of strong persuasion, did not allow anybody to accompany him. As he reached the bank of the Chambal and boarded the boat, some of his favourites argued saying that it was by no means expedient for him to start for Agra. Azam Humayun did not allow anyone to cross the river and dismissed all of them and pushed off from the shore.

On his arrival near Agra, a broken-down pack-horse was taken to him at sultan Ibrahim's command. He was told that he had been

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1 T. S. refers to Ibrahim's cruelties by saying

بعض را در دیوار گرفت – و بعض را در آتش بسوخت

which is uncorroborated by any other source.

ordered to ride it, upon which he alighted from his own horse and mounted it. The small body of his attendants said that he was as yet unscathed and there were persons at their disposal who would conduct him to safety. Azam Humayun said, "Friends: such conduct is unbecoming of me who have paid scant regard to my own life, while attached to the service of sultan Ibrahim's father and grandfather. I have lived long and do not expect to live longer; I have been in the sultan's service, and whether I die sooner or later, I cannot do any harm. He is well aware of my worth and will account for it to God." So saying he bade farewell to some of his followers who were still in his company and entered the city of Agra. Immediately on his admittance into the city, sultan Ibrahim put so faithful and eminent a nobleman into confinement without any dereliction of duty on his part and attached several maunds of chain to his feet.

On the very day of his admission into the prison, he represented to the sultan saying "Your Majesty may please do what you like. Be gracious enough to grant me water for ablutions and dry clay for abstersion. My son Islam Khan is a rebel. Put him down quickly before he has collected a force."[1] During the long period of Azam Humayun's detention in prison, the wicked and unjust sultan indulged in the killing of such honest and innocent nobles in prison, and thus pulled down with his own hands the bulwarks of the kingdom. He put to death a number of Sikandari nobles who were guiltless, upon which the nobles at the frontier of his own territory began to adopt measures for their safety.

The son of Dariya Khan Nuhani who bore the name of Bihar Khan, rebelled against sultan Ibrahim. He collected nearly a lakh of horsemen and brought the whole country from the border of Bihar to the district of Sambhal under his authority. He assumed the title of sultan Muhammad and caused the *khutba* to be read and the coin engraved in his name. Daulat Khan, son of Tatar Khan, who was a vassal of sultan Sikandar and governor of the Panjab was afraid of sultan Ibrahim. He did not come and sent his son Dilawār Khan to wait upon sultan Ibrahim. As soon as the sultan saw him, he said, "Let your father come here quickly or he will be punished like other emirs." Dilawar Khan reported the matter to his father who wrote back saying, "I can go if Miyan Bhua recommends such a step,

1 Identical account in *T. S. B. I.* 84-85.

and advises me to go in writing. Take care of yourself." Dilawar Khan, finding the sultan overbearing in temper, was frightened and finding no means of escape from his wrath and punishment, went to *Padishah* Babur at Kabul by a devious route, instead of running away to his father. He remained here for sometime and laid before Babur *Padishah* the detailed facts about the dissension among the Afghan noblemen and their estrangement from sultan Ibrahim.

144. Shortly after sultan Ibrahim put Miyan Bhua to death in prison, though he was guiltless. At this news *Padishah* Babur apprehended the fall of sultan Ibrahim, as the murder and killing of such a faithful, sagacious and innocent man had disgusted many officers. Daulat Khan too wanted *Padishah* Babur to invade Hindustan who, through the grace of God, formed the plan of a march towards India, and started out upon it. In the course of their march Daulat Khan died. In Bihar too sultan Muhammad who had declared himself independent expired.

About this time certain nobles of sultan Sikandar invited 'Alāuddin, son of sultan Bahlol, who had gone to sultan Muzaffar Shah in Gujrat. They hailed him as sultan 'Alāuddin and set him up in opposition to sultan Ibrahim. As these noblemen could not cope with sultan Ibrahim, they invited Zahiruddin Babur *Padishah* from Trans-Oxiana and Kabul. In spite of the lack of equipments and apparatus for the conquest of Hindustan, *Padishah* Babur, relying firmly on divine help, resolved to march towards India. Sultan Ibrahim too marched from the opposite direction to challenge him. He had advanced close to Delhi when certain noblemen who had lost faith in him and were on the look-out for a suitable opportunity, assembled a force of about 40,000 horsemen. On hearing the news of *Padishah* Babur's inroad into India, they laid siege to Delhi before sultan Ibrahim's arrival. Five persons who had been the ring-leaders of the body of rebels (i) 'Ālam Khan (ii) Dilawār Khan (iii) Mahmud Khan (iv) Khan Jahan (v) and Ismail Khan bound themselves together in an alliance and marched to meet sultan Ibrahim. The sultan thought it his duty to reduce the rebels first and led his forces against them. Alam Khan conferred with his colleagues and decided upon the course of action by casting dice. It was agreed that as sultan Ibrahim had already arrived,—the code of honour being very high among the Afghans and betrayal of the master during the battle and junction with

the enemy being regarded by them as disgraceful and shameful,—it was agreed that as sultan Ibrahim had already arrived, an engagement with his forces during the day would cause a dissolution of their army. Hence it would be expedient to surprise the sultan's army at night and engage them. When they were at a distance of six *koss* from sultan Ibrahim's army, they rode forward at the last lap of the night to strike at the force of the sultan and swooped down upon them before dawn.

Jalal Khan and other noblemen who were watching for an opportunity deserted from the sultan to the side of the rebels. The sultan's army dispersed. Nevertheless he stood firmly in his pavilion surrounded by his body-guards and refrained from fighting and hostilities until the sun-rise. As the enemy forces broke up in search of plunder and the capture of baggage and the veil of darkness was uncovered by the sunshine and the light of the day, the sultan's eyes fell on the centre of the rebel army where 'Ālam Khan was standing with his followers. At once he flung himself upon Alam Khan who fled and was followed by his retinue, engaged in looting at that time. The rebel chiefs united in arms were now scattered. Alam Khan went to the *Miyan-i-Doab* from where he pursued his way to *Padishah* Babur. As acts of ingratitude never prove beneficial nor do they secure any advantage for the servant, 40,000 Afghan horsemen, despite their unity of purpose, failed to achieve their object and went to rack and ruin.

At the report of confusion in the affairs of sultan Ibrahim, Babur started for Delhi, while sultan Ibrahim marched from Delhi towards Sirhind. (147) About this time the sultan called for the astrologers and said to them, "Please look at the position of the stars and let me know to which side victory would incline." All the eminent astrologers of the time who were unrivalled in this branch of learning, concluded from the observation of the stars that the entire body of elephants and horses would make their entry into the Mughal ranks. Sultan Ibrahim said to those who were present, "This is an unmistakable augury of our victory over the Mughals." The astrologers said that it would turn out as such. Some of the far-sighted astrologers, however, left the scene of their activity for their respective homes and arrived there safely; .while those who had concurred with sultan Ibrahim were either taken prisoner or lost their lives. All the elephants and horses of sultan Ibrahim became mixed up with the Mughal

army. Many Afghans fled away from Sonepat to *Padishah* Babur. Hamid Khan *Khasa-khail* who marched from the fort of Hisar-Firuza with a large auxiliary force had a brush with *Padishah* Humayun, on the border of this district and was defeated. This army too broke up in confusion. The sultan deployed from his own ranks a body of five to six thousand troops under Daud Khan to reconnoitre. *Padishah* Babur marched from the opposite direction with his army in battle array and halted at Panipat within six *koss* of Ibrahim's army, on Thursday, 30th of Jamad II/12th April 1526. *Padishah* Babur had an army of 15000, consisting of horsemen, foot-soldiers and a few elephants, while sultan Ibrahim commanded a force of one lakh of horsemen and a thousand elephants. Skirmishing went on between them for nearly a month. On the 8th Rajab, 932 AH/ Friday, 20th April, 1526 A. D., sultan Ibrahim became the victim of destiny, when he marched with his army drawn up in closed ranks opposite *Padishah* Babur who went into action from the other side. As they approached each other, *Padishah* Babur ordered his army to divide into two halves, the van was to remain where it was, while the other, after splitting up into two parts, was to wheel round the enemy's rear and engage them. Though sultan Ibrahim had countless troops, most of them and their officers were discontented with him. In fine, a great battle took place between the two rulers on the field lying east of Panipat and so heavy was the carnage that people became dumb with astonishment. A large number of sultan (149) Ibrahim's troops fell and the rest who were impatient of his rule escaped to the woods.

During this critical hour one of his favourites said to him, "I now consider it expedient for Your Majesty to quit the field. Afterwards you would be able to adopt any plan that recommends itself to you." Ibrahim replied, "Don't you see that kings put up blood-coloured tents and red insignias as the symbols of royalty. I shall dye my body red with my blood. Where can I go ? I have donned the scarlet robe. How can I cover myself with disgrace ?" and he recited the verse,

"If I now turn towards another direction,
It would not be heroic,
Kings with purple robe and face,
Cannot behave in a cowardly way.

Sultan Ibrahim was slain with five thousand of his chosen horsemen. In this battle fell many thousands whose names and antecedents

are not known. His downfall was due to his failure in winning over the nobility and the soldiery to his side, which ended his rule and career. Some say that the sultan was recognised lying dead amidst heaps of slain comrades in a desolate place. His head was severed from the trunk and brought to Babur. A person who was present in this battle strung together this event in Hindi verses. 150

नोसी उपर होता घातिया—पानीपत में भारत दिया ।
सातु रजब आवत दाबा—बाबर जीता इब्राहिम हारा ॥

In 932 A. H. India was made over at Panipat.
On the 7th Rajab Emperor Babur won, Ibrahim lost.

A trustworthy narrator 120 years old stated that he was in sultan Ibrahim's company on the day of battle and that after his defeat the sultan pursued his way towards his camp on the bank of the Jamuna. Mounting on a black Arabian charger and attired in royal robe, he reached the bank of the river in the company of a handful of his following, in order to ford the stream at Birauna, a hamlet included within the jurisdiction of Panipat. His intention was to make this river the barrier (between him and Babur) and take up arms again in the *Miyan-i-Doab*. He made a vigorous search for rafts but failed to get any. He then plunged his charger into the river along with a few companions and made his way through the waters for a certain distance. The narrator of this anecdote says that he was seated on the river bank and saw the sultan sinking in his purple robe with his horse into the waters of the river at the ford of Birauna.

A note on the prosperity of sultan Ibrahim's reign as sketched in the *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, *Sarkar Ms.*

One of the singularities of his reign was that corn, cloth and other things were cheaper than they had been in any other reign excepting only the closing years of sultan Alauddin's reign. Prices were kept low during the rule of sultan Alauddin by great severity, punishment and torture, but the cheapness of sultan Ibrahim's reign was caused by heavenly grace. Cheapness, no doubt, prevailed in sultan Sikandar's reign as well, but it was not comparable with that of sultan Ibrahim's reign. It is said that ten maunds of corn, five seers of oil and ten yards of cloth could be purchased for a single piece of *Bahloli*.[1] Such was the general price-rate. This prosperity and cheapness were due to the occurrence of rainfall according to expectation and extension of tillage for which the wealth of the country increased ten-fold. (Besides) sultan Ibrahim had passed an ordinance forbidding all cash exactions by zamindars and all levies other than those on grain, and the produce of the soil.

An unlimited quantity of cereals came from the fiefs, so that the nobles and chiefs, under the stress of necessity, obtained cash money for their expenses by selling corn at any price offered. By heavenly design ten maunds of corn sold at a single *Bahloli*. Gold and silver were very scarce. A foot man, with a family and dependants,

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1 In the *Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Delhi*, Edward Thomas commented on *Bahloli* saying, "The term *Bahloli* applied to a recognized and quasi standard coin of the period." He referred to the determination of its value by Abul Fazl and remarked that it succeeded to the previous functions of the *Paisa* and became the connecting link between that coin and the *dam*, in which the entire revenues of the state were assessed under Akbar. *C. P. K. D.* 859.860.

According to Abul Fazl, the *Dam* is a cash coin, weighing five tanks which was equivalent to 1 tola, 8 māshas and 7 surkhs (Ratis). It was 1/40 of the *rupiya*. At first it was called *Paisa*, and also *Bahloli*. In these days it is known by the name of *Dam*. On one side was the name of the mint-place, on the reverse, the year and the month.

دام مسین نقدیست وزن پنج تانك كه يك تولچه و هشت ماشه و هفت سرخ
باشد ـ چهلم بخش روپیه ـ نخست آنرا پیست گفتے و بهلولي نیز خواندنے ـ امروز
بدان نام اشتهار دارد ـ يك سو غرب فلان جائي و دیگر جانب سال و مه ـ

Ain. I. lith. copy 18

had a monthly wage of five *tankas* : [1] while a horseman had a monthly pay of twenty to thirty *tankas*. If anybody travelled from Delhi to Agra, with a horse and a sweeper-attendant with him, he could easily do it with a single *Bahloli*. The cheapness of grain was one of the wonders of sultan Ibrahim's reign.

i A note on Sultan Ibrahim's relation with the Afghan nobility and Rānā Sāngā.

Sultan Ibrahim has been universally condemned for his caprice and cruelty and held responsible for the downfall of the Afghan rule. It has, however, been amply indicated in the '*Introduction*' that sultan Ibrahim fell, not on account of the deficencies of his character, but primarily because of the defects of the Afghan polity and their tribal prejudice against royalty.

Kingship was an elective office in Islam. The hereditary principle had, however, obtained recognition as early as the days of the Ummayeds. In India this principle was tacitly accepted by the Turkish aristocracy during the sultanate period. It was only warrior kings such as sultans Ghiyasuddin and Alauddin who infringed upon this principle by seizing the throne with the weight of their military force.

Under the Lodi Kings, royalty became the sport of the Afghan nobility, who divided the kingdom into two separate units at the time of accession of both sultans Sikandar and sultan Ibrahim.

The territorial integrity was preserved on each occasion by the monarch's ability and resourcefulness. The barons of sultan Sikandar became temporarily quiescent, after having a test of his military adroitness in the early years of his reign but had plotted again. It is generally ignored that Sikandar's policy had led to the growth of

1 *Sikandari Tanka*
According to Edward Thomas, *Tanka* formed the "connecting link between the *Bahloli* and the *dam* of Sher Shah. The *Bahloli* was made up of two *Karshas*, while the *Sikandari tanka* doubled that amount : Twenty pieces constituting the change for a silver *tanka*, instead of the 40 *Bahlolis* or 80 *Karshas* of the previous scheme of exchange. [*C. P. K. D.* 866.

large territorial domains, so that Daulat Khan of the Panjab and Azam Humayun of Kara by means of their respective armies and resources, rivalled the sultan of Delhi. These nobles became the leaders of opposition against sultan Ibrahim. Inspite of their opposition, this youthful monarch succeeded in reducing his brother Jalal Khan who had assumed royalty, to submission, capturing the fortress of Gwalior and wiping out the Tomara power. He also proved more than a match for the body of rebel chiefs who had coalesced under Islam Khan, son of Azam Humayun Sarwani. At the commencement of the contest, the rebels successfully attacked in an ambuscade the sultan's army, commanded by Malik Adam Kakar, but they were finally routed in a bloody engagament near Kanauj, and sultan Ibrahim's authority prevailed all over his dominion.

In their restlessness some of the Afghan chiefs then took a step which not only overthrew their enemy sultan Ibrahim, but their sway in India. Kabul had lately been occupied by a king of the Chaghtay dynasty and the fame of his generalship had spread across the sequestered valleys of that mountainous country into India. The Afghan chiefs now wooed him for military assistance. The sequel was Babur's invasion and the overthrow of the Lodi dynasty.

ii Sultan Ibrahim's relationship with Rānā Sāngā

The *Cambridge History of India* referring to sultan Ibrahim's relation with Rana Sanga, says ;

"*Sangrama, like some of his predecessors, is credited with victories for which there is no historical warrant, over the king of Delhi, Ibrahim Lodi.*

This view was refuted long ago by Dr. G. H. Ojha, on the authority of the Hindi chronicle, *Vira Binod*, Tod's *History of Rajastan* and certain extracts from the *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghina*, printed in the fifth volume of Elliot's *History of India*. *Ojha's* version has been repeated in a recent publication.[1] The extracts translated from the *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* and the *Tarikh-i-Shahi* in pages * * * * of this volume, however clearly show that Dr. Ojha's version was neither fully correct nor complete.

1 A. B. Pandey – F. A. E.

According to Dr Ojha, Rana Sāngā had started the annexation of Afghan territory during the closing years of the reign of sultan Sikandar who, owing to his weakness, had failed to take up the challenge and sultan Ibrahim took reprisal by invading the Rana's territory in course of which took place the engagement at Khatoli. This statement lacks support and appears to be a surmise. Sultan Sikandar's failure to maintain the integrity of his dominion is not referred to in any of our sources. Secondly, Rana Sāngā was so entangled in the affairs of Malwa during the closing years of Sikandar's reign that he had hardly any respite to turn his arms against sultan Sikandar. Nor was sultan Ibrahim free, immediately after his accession, to attack the Rana, as he was beset with the hostility of a group of nobles headed by his brother, Jalal Khan. The truth is, as H. B. Sarda says, the Rana took the offensive and led his army into the Afghan territory, compelling sultan Ibrahim to an engagement. In the action at Khatoli, the Afghans were defeated and fled. A Lodi prince fell into the hands of the Rana who was grievously wounded in the action.

In order to avenge this defeat, sultan Ibrahim equipped a grand army and sent it against the Rana under the leadership of Miyan Makhan. Some of the commanders, such as Miyan Sulaiman Farmuli, and Miyan Husain Farmuli who were subordinated to his command, resented their inferior status and publicly insulted Miyan Makhan. Eventually Miyan Husain and Miyan Maruf deserted to Rana Sanga, after concluding an agreement with him. The main Afghan army, weakened and disspirited by the desertion of the two chiefs, was easily defeated by the Rajput army at a place called Bali, presumably on the border of Bayana. Sultan Ibrahim at once rushed to the aid of his commander with a reinforcement, but was obliged to return to Delhi without any engagement with the allied army of the Afghans and the Rajputs.

Rana Sanga, with the backing of his Afghan allies, was now indomitable. He is stated to have sacked and burnt the mansion built by sultan Sikandar, on the bank of the river Gambhira and enthroned the Lodi prince, taken prisoner previously, under the title of sultan Ghiyasuddin. The Rana was evidently aiming at the throne of Delhi which he wanted to control by means of a puppet,—the policy later on successfully adopted by the Maratha chief, Mahadji Sindhia. The Rana's ambitious designs alarmed his Afghan allies

who trembled at the prospect of the consequences of their action. This apprehension was increased by an incident that occurred in a conference of the assembled Rajput and Afghan chiefs. Sultan Ghiyasuddin was present in the conference and the allies had met together to confer, when all of a sudden the Rajputs started to call "Ram, Ram". The refrain was taken up by all the persons present, Hindus and Muslims.

There was however one person who felt very miserable on this occasion. He was Miyan Husain. No sooner was the cry raised than he closed his ears with his fingers He repented of his desertion and wrote to sultan Ibrahim offering his allegiance, in return for the liberation of Sayyid Khan Lodi and Fath Khan Sarwani from prison. The sultan welcomed the offer and set the two chiefs at liberty. They were allowed to march away from Delhi with their contingents and join Miyan Husain who was yet in coalescene with the Rana.

According to Rizqullah, a strong friendship grew up between the Rana and Sayyid Khan. Miyan Husain suspected that Sayyid Khan was parleying for terms with Rana Sanga to oust sultan Ibrahim from the throne. At this turn of event, the Miyan sought to out-manouvre him by a diplomatic counter-stroke. He sent his friend the eminent peer Miyan Tah to sultan Ibrahim offering him unconditional allegiance. The news of this secret overture leaked out and the allied army took the step of counteracting any treacherous attack on the part of Miyan Husain, by barricading his camp at night.

Miyan Husain, however, proved equal to the occasion. At day break he rode, attended by only a couple of body-guards, to the enemy camp and sat in their midst after alighting from his horse. He invited Sayyid Khan and the Rana to meet him for a friendly pourparler and when they met, Miyan Husain proposed that they should part peacefully, offering the chiefs the option of joining him or the Rana. Strangely enough, Fath Khan and the Rajput Salahadi elected to join the Miyan. According to Shaikh Rizqullah, the Rana, completely out-witted by this turn of event, broke his camp and fled precipitately.

The account of the Rana's flight without any encounter is, however, contradicted by the *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghania alias Tarikh-i-Shahi*. According to this chronicle, when Miyan Makhan, commanding a body of 30,000 cavalry was defeated by a small number of Rajputs,

Miyan Husain felt very sorry and secretly informed Miyan Maruf of his design to make a night-attack on his Rajput ally. In accordance with the plan, Miyan Maruf marched with his contingent to the appointed place, under cover of darkness and was joined by Miyan Husain. They delivered the assault, according to the premeditated plan, and made a terrible carnage of the Rajputs. The Rana and some of his nobles succeeded in escaping.

En passent it may be noted that Rānā Sāngā was the crown of Hindu royalty in that age. His deeds have been commemorated in the following bardic songs :

शाहां पकड़ छोडवो सांगा थारे हांसां खेल हमीरहरा
मेलैदल सबलकलाधर मोकल।
नांम सहें सुरताणा नाद॥
ईडर थकी मसीत ऊथापे।
पै इडर थपया प्रसाद॥
इब्राहीम पूरब दिशा न उलटे
पछम मुदाफर न दे पयाण॥
दखणी महमदशाह न दौड़े
सागो दामण षहूं सुरताण॥

Oh Sanga !

It is a sport with you to take kings captive and set them free. Oh mighty Sāngā, following the example of Mokal, you humble the sultans and listen to their plaints. You have demolished the mosque of Idar and built a temple on its ruins.

On the east, Ibrāhim (Lodi) cannot advance, nor can Muzaffar (Shah) advance from the west. Mahmud Shah cannot march southward. Thus has Mahārānā Sāngā chained the feet of the three sultans.

H. B. Sarda quotes the last lines from *Mahārānā Yasha Prakāsa*, by Bhur Singh, 65. Sarda, H. B. Mahārānā Sāngā, Ajmir, 1918.

A note on Sultan Ibrahim's mother and son from the *Memoirs of Babur*

Babur records in his *memoirs* that sultan Ibrahim's mother attempted to cause his death by poisoning. The circumstance is briefly narrated in Babur's own words.

"The mother of Ibrahim, an ill-fated lady, had heard that I had eaten some things from the hands of natives of Hindustan. It happened in this way. Three or four months ago, never having seen any of the dishes of Hindustan, I desired Ibrahim's cooks to be called and out of fifty or sixty cooks, four were chosen and retained. The lady, having heard the circumstance, sent a person to Etawa to call Ahmed, the taster whom the Hindustanis call *bekawel* and delivered into the hands of a female slave a *tola* of poison, wrapped up in a folded paper desiring it to be given to the taster Ahmad. Ahmed gave it to a Hindustani cook in my kitchen, seducing him with promise of *four parganas* and desiring him, by some means or other, to throw it into my food. She sent another female slave, after the one whom she had desired to carry the poison, to Ahmed, in order to observe if the first slave delivered the poison or not. It was fortunate that the poison was not thrown into the pot, it was thrown into the tray. When they were dishing the meat, my graceless tasters were inattentive and he threw it upon a plate of thin slices of bread. He did not throw above one-half of the poison that was in the paper upon the bread and put some meat fried in butter upon the slices of bread.

On Friday, when afternoon-prayers were past, they dished the dinner. I ate heartily of hare fricassee and I swallowed only a mouthful or two of the poisoned Hindustani dish...... The day before while eating some smoke-dried flesh, I had felt an unpleasant taste in a particular part of it. I ascribed my nausea to that incident. The nausea returned. At last perceiving that I could not check it, I went to the water-closet. When I had got to it, I vomited a great deal.

Some suspicions crossed my mind. I ordered the cooks to be taken into custody and desired the meat to be given to a dog which I directed to be shut up. Two young men also had eaten of this food. Next morning they too vomitted much ; one of them was extremely ill, but both in the end escaped.

I ordered sultan Muhammad Bakhshi to guard and examine the cooks and at last all the particulars came to light, as they have been detailed.

[Punishment of the cooks and servants]

When I had recovered from this danger, I wrote and sent this letter to Kabul. As the ill-fated princess had been guilty of so enormous a crime, I gave her up to Yunnus Ali and Khwajeh Asad to be put under contribution. After seizing her ready money and effects, her male and female slaves, she was given to Abdul Rahim's charge to be kept in custody.

Her grandson, the son of Ibrahim, had previously been guarded with the greatest respect and delicacy. When an attempt of so heinous a nature was discovered to have been made by the family, I did not think it prudent to have this prince about my person. On Thursday Jany 3, 1527 I sent him to Kamran along with Mulla Sarsān who had come from that prince on some business.[1]

1 King, *Memoirs*, 269-271.

APPENDIX I

The Baghela kingdom of Bhata

The Baghela kingdom of Bhātā, represented by the defunct state of Rewah was a leading Rajput power in the 15th century. Lately a Sanskrit work *Virabhanudaya Kavya*, recounting the glories of the ruling family, until the times of Raja Virabhadra, son and successor of Raja Ramchandradeva, a contemporary of emperor Akbar, was discovered. Strangely enough, there is hardly any reference in this account to the Baghela Rajas' heroic resistance to Afghan predominance in northern India. A few facts, preserved in the Persian chronicles compiled in the 17th cetury, enable us to reconstruct an outline sketch of this hitherto unknown episode.

As the Turkish hordes poured in successive waves into the Indian plains during the 13th and the 14th centuries, and subjugated different parts of the country, many tribes, settled in the country for centuries, were displaced from their habitations and driven to seek spheres of expansion in out-of-the way places. It appears that the Baghelas who have stamped their name on the country bounded by the Kaimur ranges on the north west and the north and the Maikal ranges on the southwest and south was one such tribe. A Baghela line of kings had ruled Gujrat for nearly four score of years, from 1222-1298 A. D.[1]

The early history of this dynasty is obscure and can only be gleaned from the *Baghela Vamsam*[2] and the *Birabhanudaya Kāvyam.*[3] It appears that after the extinction of their rule in Gujrat, the Baghelas quitted Gujrat *en masse* in search of new territory for settlement and came away to the region round Banda and Kalinjar. Here they settled down among the autochthonous tribes, such as the Bhars, the Chandellas and the Lodhas etc. According to the *Virabhāudaya Kavya*, Rāningadeva, son of Bhima, first asserted his authority over the Lodhas by occupying Gahora[4] in the Banda district. Viramdeva was,

1 In an article contributed to the journal, '*Vikram*' Prof. Nizami says that the Baghelas are one of the oldest ruling *Houses of the world*, being the descendants of the Chaulukyas of the Deccan. The first part of the statement is a hyperbole; the second is incorrect because the Chaulukya rule lasted only fifty years. This article, curiously enough, does not take into account the Persian chronicles at all and omits to note the significant role of the House in halting Afghan advance along the line of the Jamuna from Kārā to Gaya.

2 A. S. B. Ms

3 Text published by the N. K. P. Lucknow, 1938.

4 *Memoirs*, A. S. I. No. 21, 5

however, the chieftain who was drawn into relationship with the neighbouring chieftain of Kalpi and the Sharqi king of Jaunpur.[1] His successor Raja Bhaidachandra was perhaps driven by the growing Muslim bases at Kalpi and Kara to seek out his sphere of rule in the country bounded by the Kaimur and Maikal ranges, now bearing the name of Baghelkhand. According to the sanskrit *Kavya* of Madhava, Bhaidchandra extended his authority along the line of the Ganges beyond Kantit and Chunar to Gaya in south Bihar.[2] It is apparent from the more dependable Persian chronicles that Bāndhava, (Bāndhugarh) was his capital, though Madhava would have us believe that this town was wrested by Birsingh from the possession of the Kuru king.

According to the Persian annals, this dynasty first stepped into prominence at the close of the 15th century. A bitter contest for power was then in progress between the Lodi and the Sharqi sultans in which the former gradually got the better of the latter. As there was the danger that the political balance would be upset, the Tomara Raja Mān of Gwalior and Raja Bhaidachandra of Bhata propped up the tottering Sharqi power by timely assistance to sultan Husain after his surprise at the Baksar ford, following the crushing defeat at Sonhar. When in 1493 A.D. the large enclave of territory stretching from Jaunpur to Kara rose in arms against the authority of sultan Sikandar, Raja Bhaidchandra (Rai Bhid of the chronicles), evidently in collusive understanding with the rebels, took Mubarak Khan Nuhani, the expelled governor of Kara, prisoner, as the latter was crossing the Jamuna by the Jhusi ferry. The Raja was, however, disconcerted by Sikandar's rapidity of movement and on the latter's appearence at Dalmau at the head of an army, he temporised with the Afghan king by setting the captive Nuhani chief at liberty in 1494 A. D.

In the following year Raja Bhaidachandra,[3] in response to Sikandar's friendly invitation, waited upon the Afghan king at Kantit in the Mirzapur district. Suspicious, however, of foul play, the Raja decamped

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1 *J. I. H.* 1954, 82

2 Op. cit. *Memoirs*, 6

3 According to the *Katya*, Sālivāhan was the brother of Raja Bhaidachandra and Birsingh, the son of the former but according to M. A. and T. A. Salivāhana and Bir Singh were sons of Raja Bhaidachandra. Whatever their relations might have been, the alignment of the two princes in two rival camps implies a disputed succession.

at night, leaving all his baggage behind, and Sikandar, passing out of the forests that choked the region, into the open plains of Arail, ruthlessly sacked and devastated the country around it.

Next year 1496 A. D. the sultan led his hosts again against the Baghelas. Bir Singh, son of the Raja, obstinately resisted his passage across the Kahal (Kathauli ?) pass, but was defeated. The Afghan king, disregarding the difficulties of supply in this hilly country, penetrated far into the interior of the country, forcing the Raja to vacate his capital. It was however a phyrric victory. The bulk of the sultan's horses was carried away by an epidemic ; while the horsemen sank in spirit owing to the failure of stimulants such as opium and *Koknār* which kept them on the move. Rai Laksmichand, son of Raja Bhaidachandra, at once sent words to sultan Husain to take advantage of his enemy's distress. The Sharqi king lost no time in marching his army, but Sikandar won over Sālivāhan, the other son of Raja Bhaidachandra, to his cause and reinforced by him, gave battle to the Sharqi king about twenty-five miles east of Benares and again defeated him.

It appears that Raja Salivahan ascended the throne of Bhata shortly after sultan Sikandar's victory. In 1499 A. D. the Afghan king demanded the hand of the Raja's daughter. The proposal was rejected. Indignant at the Raja's request, Sikandar invaded Bhata and forced his way across the defiles to Bandugarh, sacking and devastating the country all along his route. Once again the physical obstacles and the difficulty of supplies forced the sultan to vacate the territory. Azam Humayun, feofee of Kara, also led occasional forays from Kara into this kingdom. The result appears to have been the temporary eclipse of Bhātā from 1500 to 1526 A. D. Hardly anything is known of its relation with sultan Ibrahim or his rival Afghan nobles. In 1527 A. D. Raja Birsingh joined Rānā Sāngā at the battle of Kanwah with a body of 4000 men. It is said that he subsequently attached himself to Babur's cause, in return for the remission of all feudal dues.[2] His successor, Birbhanudeva offered asylum to emperor Humayun during his precipitate flight after the battle at Chausa which is thus recorded by

1 Azam Humayun's raids into the Bhata territory are mentioned in *W. M. B. M. Ms.*

2 Rewah State Gaz.

Gulbadan Begam, "When His Majesty reached the river bank (Arail), he stopped and said" How to cross without boats" Then came Raja Birbhanu with five or six horsemen and led him through a ford. For four and five days the people were without food or drink. At last the Raja started a bazaar so that the people of the army lived some days in comfort and repose. The horses also were rested. Many men who were on foot brought fresh mounts. In short, the Raja rendered fitting and dutiful services."[1]

The friendly relation between the Chaghtay monarch and the Baghela ruler is also corroborated by the aforesaid Sanskrit *Kavya.* According to this account, emperor Humayun, delighted at the news of the birth of a grandson to Birbhanudeva, sent many valuable gifts as a token of friendship, and wrote to him saying, "This grandson is as good as my own, for there is hardly any difference between one's own grandson and that of his brother."[2]

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1 Beveridge — English translation of *Humayun Namah*, 136

2 *Memoirs*, A. S. I. No 21, 3. The Sanskrit verses are as follows.

आकर्ण्य दिल्लीश्वरभूपमौलिः
　　श्रीमान् हुमांयूं यवनाधिनाथः ।
श्रीवीरभानोस्तनयस्य जातं
　　सुतं प्रमोदं बहुधा प्रपेदे ॥२०॥
स प्रेषयामास निजैरमात्य-
　　वरैः शुभान्याभरणानि हृष्टः ।
अश्वांश्च वासांसि सुगन्धवस्तु
　　भ्रात्रीकृतस्तेन हि वीरभानुः ॥२१॥
श्रीवीरसिंहस्य यथा बभूव
　　सुभ्रातृभावः सह बाबरेण ।
क्षोणीश्वरेणेह तथैव तेन
　　श्रीवीरभानोरपि बन्धुभावः ॥२२॥
पौत्रं तवेमं नृपवीरभानो
　　जातं किलाहं निजमेव मन्ये ।
को भ्रातृपौत्रेऽथ निजे विशेषः ।
　　इत्याह लेखे स च मुद्रलेखः ॥२३॥

Such friendly ties were kept alive in public memory by bardic songs, one of which was recorded by General Cunningham in his report of the tour of Bundelkhand and Rewa in 1883-84 A. D.[1]

दिल्ली के जितेक सरदार, मनसबदार, राजा राव, उमराव, सभी को निपात को।
बेगम बिचारी कहि कितहू न पाई थाह,—बांधौंगढ़, गाढ़ो गूढ़ ताको पच्छपात को।
शेरशाह सलिल प्रलेये को बड़ो अजबेस,—बूड़त हुमायूँ के महा हि उत्पात को।
बलहीन बालक, अकबर बचाइव को, बीरभान भूपति अखेबर को पात को॥

"All the *sardars*, *mansabdars*, Rajas, Raos and emirs were killed. The miserable begum found no place of refuge till the fort of Bandhugarh opened its gates to her. The bard Ajbes says that Sher Shah was then as powerful as the deluge ; Humayan escaped drowning, but was thrown into great distress. The helpless boy Akbar was rescued by Birbhan (u) who became his sole refuge, in the same way as the leaf of the ***Akshayavata*** became the resting-place of Visnu in a time of deluge."

The Bhata kings kept their doors open for the admission of Afghan fugitives as well. Fath Malika, the wealthy widow of Miyan Muhammamad Mustafa and daughter of Miyan Kālāpāhār, once made up her mind to seek asylum with her fabulous wealth in the Bhata territory. She proceeded to the jungle-clad eastern outskirt of Bhata, but was prevailed upon by Sher Khan to change her mind.[2] About 1530 A. D. Mahmud Khan, son of sultan Sikandar Lodi and a claimant to throne of Delhi, was invited by the leading Afghan nobles to assume their leadership in eastern India. Mahmud Khan Lodi came away from his asylum in Chitor to Bhātā and was acclaimed by the Afghan chiefs, as their king. Subsequently, after his defeat at Daurah, near Lucknow, he returned to Bhata at the head of an army, consisting of the Rajputs and Afghans,[3] and he lived here the rest of his life.

Birbhanu's successor Ramchandra was equally known for his hospitality, though he was greater as a monarch than his predecessor. During the political confusion that prevailed after Islam Shah's death (1553 A. D.), he extended his authority beyond the Kaimur ranges

1 *C. A. S. I.* XXI, 110.
2 P. U. Ms. 54, Raghubir Ms, 124, E. H. I. IV. 354
3 T. S. S. Raghubir Ms, 110 and 116, P. U. Ms., 48 and 50.

to as far as Kalinjar. He took possession of this renowned fortress from Bijli Khan, the adopted son of Pahar Khan, by offering him a large sum of money in cash.[1]

The famous Afghan knight-errant, Ibrahim Khan Sur, made a surprise attack on the Bhata territory about 1555 A. D. He was defeated and taken prisoner by the Raja. The captive chief was treated with all the consideration that could be shown to the fallen royalty and accommodated hospitably in his territory until he was called away by the Miyana Afghans to Raisin.[2]

Another Afghan chief, Ghazi Khan Tanuri lived long under the protection of Ramchandra who declined to deliver him into the hands of Akbar's general, Asaf Khan. Raja Ramchand, however, was obliged to yield the fortress of Kalinjar to the Mughals. He, however, long maintained the proud Rajput tradition by refusing to wait upon the emperor at Agra. Eventually at the request of Raja Birbal and Zain Khan Koka he left his own capital for Allahabad where he met the emperor Akbar. During the reign of Raja Ramchandra, the Baghelas lost their independence and became the feudatory of the Mughals.

Raja Ramchand is known in history as having been the patron of Miyan Tansen, the most noted *kalawant* (singer) that India is known to have produced. The sanskrit *kavya* of Madhava would have us believe that the Raja showered wealth upon the musician, like clouds pouring rain, as testified to by the following verse :

गान्धर्वविद्यामयदेहभाजे
यस्तानसेनाय कलाविदेऽदात् ।
रागं प्रतीह प्रतितानमेतत्
प्रतिध्रुपत्कोटिशशाङ्कटङ्काः ॥2

He made a gift of a krore of rupees to the artist Tansen, embodiment of the art of music, for each rāga, each *tāna* and each *drupat*. (special song or melody)

1 *M. U.* B. I. I. 186.
2 *M. T.* B. I. I 432, T. A. Eng. tr. 204-205.

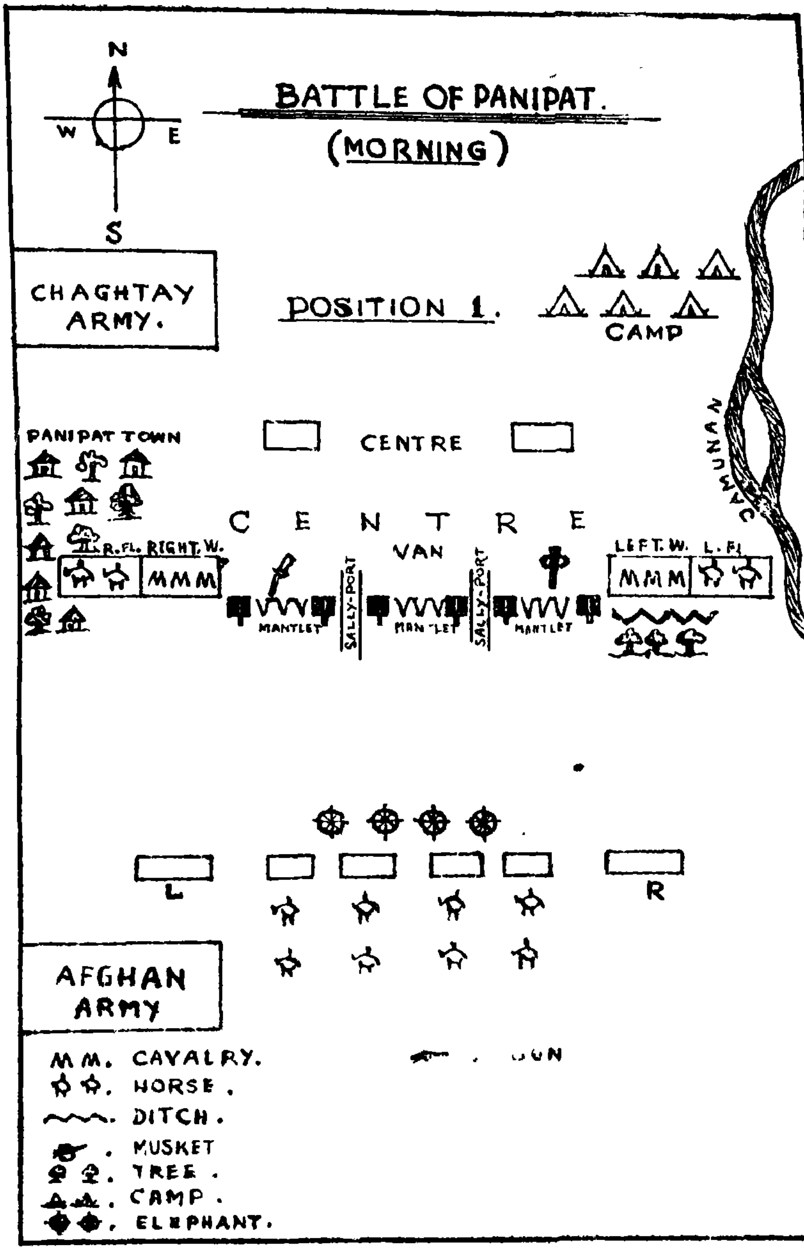
The Raja's interest in belles-lettres was equally great. Poet Govindabhatta, surnamed *Akbariya* Kālidas is stated to have composed a sanskrit *Prabandha* in his praise ; the bard Narahari Mahāpātra and his son, Harinath were his favourites, while the famous Kabir Panthi leader Dharamdas was his pet companion.[1] With Raja Ramchandra closes the history of independent Baghelas.

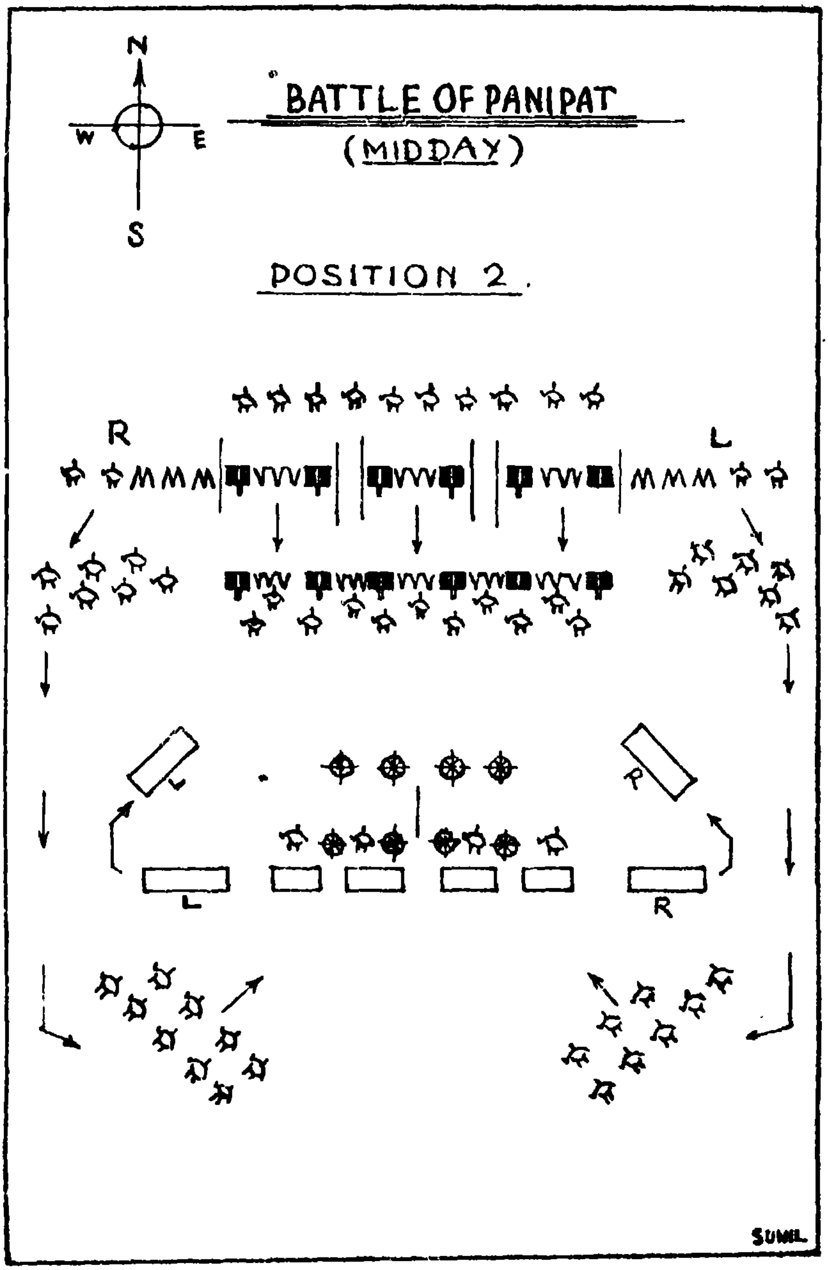
A genealogical table of the Baghela kings as drawn up by Cunningham and juxtaposed with that sketched by Dr. Hirānanda Shastri, on the basis of the Sanskrit work, *Virabhanudaya Kavya* is appended here with the remarks of Dr Shastri.

Number in Cunningham's list.	Number according to the Virabhanudaya-kavya.	Name given by Cunningham.	Name according to Virabhanudaya-kavyam.	Remarks
6	1	Bhanāh Deva	Bhima.	
7	2	Anika Deva	Rāningadeva	Anika (army) is too Sanskritic. Correct name may be Ranangadeva.
8	3	Balana Deva	Vālanadeva	
12	4	Ballār Deva	V(B) allara-deva.	Bariardeva is not given in the kavya. Apparently it is idendical with Balara deva.
14	5	Bhairava Deva	Viramadeva	Simhadeva died in the life-time of his father and Viramadeva, his son, succeeded to the throne. Cunningham calls him Siddha and the Kāvya, Jātismara. See Canto I.

1 Nizami—*the Baghelas of Rewah* in *Vikram*, May, 1958.

15	6	Naharara Deva	Naraharideva	
16	7	Bhira Deva	Bhaida-chandra	Bhaida, possibly, means breaker of foes
17	8	Sālivāhana Deva Acc. to the Persian annals, son of Rai Bhid	Sālivahana According to Madhab, brother of Bhaida-chandra	Salivahana was the younger brother of Bhaidachandra and succeeded to the throne, as Vahararaya died before his father (Bhaida-chandra)
18	9	Vira simhadeva Acc. to the Persian annals, son of Bhid,	Virasimhadeva Acc. to Madhav, son of Salivahana	
19	10	Virabhana	Virabhānu	
20	11	Raja Rāmadeva	Ramchandra	
21	12	Virabhadra	Virabhadra	


N
W
E
S
BATTLE OF PANIPAT.
(MORNING)
CHAGHTAY ARMY.
POSITION 1.
CAMP
JAMUNA
PANIPAT TOWN
CENTRE
C E N T R E
R. FL. RIGHT. W.
MMM
VAN
LEFT. W. L. FL.
MMM
MANTLET
SALLY-PORT
MANTLET
SALLY-PORT
MANTLET
L
R
AFGHAN ARMY
MM. CAVALRY.
HORSE.
DITCH.
MUSKET
TREE.
CAMP.
ELEPHANT.


N
W
E
S
BATTLE OF PANIPAT
(MIDDAY)
POSITION 2.
R
L
L
R
L
R
SUNIL

APPENDIX II

The First Battle of Panipat, 21st April, 1526 A. D.

The first battle of Panipat ranks as a decisive event in Indian history. It overthrew the Afghan ruling dynasty and established in its place a line of rulers from Central Asia. It saw for the first time the use of fire arms which, allied to cavalry, led to the growth of royal absolutism and modified the art of warfare in India.

Of such a battle that altered the course of history, only a one-sided and fragmentary version has been left to us, giving a faint indication of the tactics employed. Abul Fazl, emperor Akbar's friend and courtier, surveying the scene after the lapse of about seven decades, considered Babur's triumph as a unique achievement. He was struck by the small number (12,000) employed by Babur against the multitudinous host (100,000) of the Afghan king Ibrahim and remarked "How can language describe what is beyond the bounds of comprehension ?"[1] But neither this talented medieval chronicler nor modern historians have lucidly explained the strategy which accounted for such a phenomenal victory. It is necessary therefore to indicate the salient features of the tactics adopted by Babur, in course of a short review of this battle.

The Chaghtay general took up his position, east of Panipat, with his face turned to the south and drew up his force in a pattern very different from the conventional Indian style. Instead of distributing his troops to right, left and centre, he sorted them out into seven different units and stationed them at different points. The centre was broken up into three parts : centre (ghul) proper, flanked by the right centre (unghul) and the left centre (sul ghul) : then there were the right wing (barangar) and the left wing (jarangar). At the extremity of each wing, were posted farther flanking parties.

Apart from the numerical inferiority of the Mughal army, their morale, on the eve of the battle, was low. "The had come," Babur himself says, "two or three months' journey from their own country They had to engage in arms a strange nation whose language we did not understand ; nor did they understand ours. As a consequence

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1 Akbar Nama, B. I. 1. 96.

many of the troops were in great terror and alarm."[1] Babur counteracted this weakness by unusual mechanical devices. He adopted the Ottoman device[2] of screening his army by a laager to protect it from the onset of his Afghan opponents who had overwhelming superiority in numbers. This laager was made up of waggon-carts, (arāba) and mantlet (tura). These waggons were tied together in pairs by ox-hides and arrayed in a long line ; mantlets, made up of five or six shields resting on tripods, were wedged in between alternate pairs of these carriages. The gunners and matchlockmen were to stand behind these tripods and to fire. In the long line formed by the palisade of carts and breast-work, wide gaps or sally-ports were kept at bow-shot intervals for the horsemen, numbering 150 to 200, to rush forth and manouvre. The artillery was kept behind this palisade, a device known long before in Europe[3] but unknown in India.

Babur covered his left wing by digging ditches in front which were camouflaged from view by artificial trees ; while the left was safeguarded by the straggling houses and groves of trees in and around the town of Panipat. The Chaghtay army was thus fortified. One of Babur's favourites Darvesh Muhammad Sarban said to him, while the encampment was being put into a state of defence, with "*guns branches of trees and ditches*" that the ground was so fortified that "nobody should ever think of coming here". The waggon-line, arrayed in this fashion, was singularly fitted for withstanding mass-attack by overwhelming numbers. It must not, however, be understood that Babur's waggon-line had become as firmly entrenched as a

1 King, *Memoirs of Babur*, II, 188.

2 In the battle of Chaldiran, 800 field guns were chained together and supported by a line of chained camels and mules. G. Sarwar, *History of Shah Ismail Safawi*, 8.

The device of a waggon-laager was adopted by Rumi Khan to intercept Humayun's march toward Chittor, in 1583 A. D. Rumi Khan said to sultan Bahadur Shah that he should "adopt the practice of the sultans of Roum, and make a rampart round his camp with carts and guns. If the enemy attacked, he might open such a fire upon his assailants as would shatter them even if they were rocks of iron. The sultan followed Rumi Khan's advice. The amirs remonstrated, saying that they were not accustomed to that mode of fighting, but the sultan would not listen. He made a bulwark of his carriages and withdrew within it ; but his men lost heart, and the emperor's men were proportionately encouraged." Bayley — *History of Gujrat*, 384.

3 Battle of Ravenna, 1512, *Cambridge Moden History*, I 137. The invention of this line is ascribed to John Ziska, the Bohemian leader.

fortress. On the other hand, Babur had so disposed the centre that the wheeled carts could be easily adjusted according to the shifts in the course of the battle. They could be swayed forward and backward or made to stand still, like tanks in modern warfare. As Professor Rushbrook Williams says,

"This waggon-line was a stratagem of aggression rather than of defence."[1] "The Hussite waggon-laager, like the Boer waggon-laager at the time of the Voor trekkers in South Africa, was a defensive post, which remained static in position until the battle was over. Babur's waggon-line, on the other hand, had the dual function of a mobile fighting machine, which could advance, gain ground, and assault the enemy from new positions. It must not be forgotten" the Professor continues "that this waggon-line was an adaptation of ballistic weapons intended to confer on them, the kind of mobility which modern warfare associates with the tank."[2]

The other distinguishing feature in the array of Babur's army was the disposition of cavalry in relation to artillery. Babur did not mass them together in a long unbroken line, but kept them apart by providing for sally-ports at bow-shot intervals. Such a disposition offered the cavalry squadrons, kept in their serried rank, the opportunity for indulging in repeated shocks which are the key to victory in cavalry combat. Supposing there had been four sally-ports, with a minimum of a thousand horsemen in each pocket, as many as five shocks could be delivered in relays of 200 men each, as soon as the offensive was launched. As the artillery thinned the enemy ranks, the cavalry was to roll up the entire line by whirlwind charges. There is hardly any doubt that this combination of artillery and cavalry, mobility and skill in the use of missiles had made the Chaghtay army a superb engine of war.

On the 12th April, Babur reached Panipat and waited a week in anticipation of the enemy attack. There was, however, no stir in the Afghan army. Accordingly Babur detailed detachments of his cavalry for attack upon the enemy camp. They went to the neighbourhood of the enemy camp, discharged volleys of arrows. Yet the Afghans

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1 Rushbrook Williams—An Empire Builder of the 16th century, 180

2 These lines are quoted from the Professor's letter written from England, on the 24th November, 1958, in reply to certain comments made by me about his description of Babur's strategy given on page 180 of his book, "*An Empire builder of the 16th century.*"

remained lukewarm. On the 19th April, Babur planned a night-attack. He detached a body of four to five thousand horsemen under commanders such as Mahdi Khwaja and Muhammad Sultan Mirza. They divided themselves into groups, and made way for the enemy camp under cover of darkness. They lost their way and contacted one another only at dawn near the Afghan camp. There was the prospect of total annihilation before them, but owing to an unaccountable Afghan inactivity, they succeeded in making escape under cover of Humayun's detachment rushed to their support. On the 20th an alarm was sounded at night, but it subsided within a short while.

The day dawned on the 21st April. Feeling was tense in the Chaghtay camp. They were at a loss as to the intentions of the enemy. Advance scouts soon brought news that the Afghan army was advancing like a deluge. Signal was promptly given by Babur to his army to form up and to stem the tide.

Eminent warriors such as Khwaja Kalan, Sultan Muhammad Duldai, Hindu Beg and others took command of the right wing. Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Mahdi Khwaja and others were put in charge of the left. Babur himself took charge of the centre; but the right centre was assigned to the command of Chin Taimur Sultan and Muhammad Kokultash; while Khalifa and Khwaja Miran held the left centre. The van was led by Khusrau Kokultāsh, while Abdul Aziz commanded the advance reserve. Wali Kizil, Malik Qasim and others took charge of the flanking party on the right, while Kara Quzi, Abul Muhammad Nezabaz led the party on the left. The artillery was divided into two parts; Ustad Ali Rumi stood in the right of the centre with the heavy Feringhi pieces, while Mustafa Khan to the left remained in charge of the matchlocks and lighter pieces.

From the account given in Babur's *memoirs*, it appears that sultan Ibrahim marched swiftly towards the Afghan camp, with the full strength of his army, estimated at the round number of 100,000 men and 10000 elephants. Apparently he wanted to overwhelm his opponent by the momentum of his attack He had calculated that the trained *mast* elephants forming the spear-head of his advance, would break the Mughal line by means of their almost irresistable impact; the cavalry would then follow and strike with sword and arrow. But as Ibrahim came up to the Mughal line, he felt utterly perplexed at the sight of the waggon line,—looming like a row

rampart—and the rows of posts, entwining branches of trees, like pylons. He knew not whether he will "halt or not, advance or not"[1] He could not bring such a large body of men to a sudden halt, nor could he reduce the pace of his march. Faced with this predicament, he pushed his right wing forward for an assault upon the enemy left. Babur at once strengthened this wing by detaching Ahmad Per wanchi and Tardi Beg from the left centre. A stray glimpse into the encounters that occured is offered by Babur himself. As soon as the Afghans poured on the Chaghtay left, Mahdi Khwaja rushed forward. He was assailed by a group of Afghans, mounted on an elephant which was hustled back by "some sharp discharges of arrows" to quote Babur's words. Meanwhile when this clash occurred, the Mughal flankers on both sides made wheeling movements, in accordance with the pre-determined plan. Fighting is the spice of an Afghan's life, yet the appearance of the Mughal horsemen on their rear and the violent hail of arrows must have unnerved the Afghans who had not been accustomed to such tactics.

During this period the Afghan right met the Mughal left. The action thus became general. The Afghans fought frantically. Their advance was apparently halted by the volleys that fell like thunder-claps upon them. How could the artillery attack by checked and the day saved ? This was the problem before sultan Ibrahim. He solved it in the traditional way. Sultans Bahlol and Sikandar had overcome their Indian antagonists principally by means of their mailed cavalry. Sultan Ibrahim had used elephants in compaigns against his enemies. e. g. against the Tomaras of Gwalior and drafted a large body of these trained animals, estimated at the round number of 1000, to meet the challenge of the Central Asian cavalry. These beasts looked like a moving cloud on the march, and were as overwhelming in attack and death-dealing blows as tanks in modern warfare. Ibrahim relied on the strength and skill of these animals to break the enemy ranks, but they were disabled and demobilized in perhaps the same way as tanks are knocked out by anti-tank guns.

Indians had long been familiar with the naptha-fire and fire-works. Fire wheels (*charkhi*), squibs (*palkā*) were lighted and rockets discharged as early as the reign of sultan Firuz bin Rajab.[1] Babur,

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1 Vide, my paper in the Proogs of the Indian History Congress, Hyderabad, Deccan,

for the first time, brought into play a new kind of missile which played a decisive part in the contest. The muskets, however primitive, discharged balls intermittently at a distance of four hundred paces; while swivels threw them to a distance of three miles.[1] The artillery thus possessed a striking power which rendered the elephants an encumbrance rather then a source of strength. It is easy to see that these animals, struck by the balls, became wild with rage and broke their own ranks, rather than overthrow the enemy. Not only were the elephants rendered ineffective, but the army as a whole must have been confused and demoralised by the intermittent firing. The consquences of Babur's artillery action in the open field at Panipat might be conjectured from what happened at the siege of Bajaur, Jany, 1526 A. D. Babur himself says "As the people of Bajaur had never seen any matchlocks, they at first were not in the least apprehensive of them, so that when they heard the report of the matchlocks, they stood opposite to them, mocking and making many unseemly and improper gestures" but when fifteen of them were killed by firing "the men of the fort were so alarmed, that for fear of the matchlock, not one of them would venture to show his head". It was the missiles that caused the ruin of the Afghan army. The Mughal flankers pressed the Afghans from their rear and drove them upon the centre, while their artillery threw the Afghan elephants and cavalry in the van back upon their centre. There was bewildering confusion on the Afghan side. As Babur says "The troops on the right and left of their centre, being huddled together in one place, such confusion ensued, that the enemy, while totally unable to advance, found also no road by which they could flee."[2] Ibrahim fought to the last, surrounded by his contingent of personal body-guards of five to six thousand men and fell.

In the long roll of the Delhi monarchs, sultan Ibrahim remains the solitary figure who courted death on the battle-field. Babur would have us believe that he was an inefficient captain of war. According to him, "He was negligent in all his movements; he marched without

1 In the battle of Bilgram, 1540 A. D., Humayun's swivel discharged balls of 500 mithkals weight, at a distance of a parsang (i. e. three miles). Elias and Ross, Eng. Transl. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 474.

2 King, *Memoirs*, 187

order ; retired or halted without plan and engaged in battle without foresight"[1] — a stern stricture indeed which is partially neutralised by our knowledge of Ibrahim's difficulties. He was the leader of an army made up mostly of feudal units, raw levies and volunteer corps. A heterogeneous body of men with divided loyalties was hardly a match for a homogeneous body who had fought arm to arm in many a field in obedience to one common master. In Professor Arnold Toynbee's words, "The superiority of a mobile standing army over a sedentary militia in professional technique is surpassed both in degree and importance by its superiority in *espirit de corps*."[2]

Sir Charles Oman says in his history of *the "Art of War* "There are only two ways in which an army can be met and defeated. Either the shock or the missile must be employed against him. In the one case the victor achieves success by throwing himself on his opponent, and worsting him in a hand-to-hand struggle by his numbers, his weight and the superiority of his arms. In the second case he wins the day by keeping such a constant and deadly rain of missiles that his enemy is destroyed or driven back before he can come to close quarters."

In point of the number of the combatants, casualties and far-reaching consequence, the first battle of Panipat was indeed momentous, illustrating the triumph of missiles over shock tactics, of science and discipline over obsolete weapons and antiquated technique.

1 King, *Memoirs*, II. 188
2 Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History*, VIII. 828

ADDENDUM

A note on Kabir and Sultan Sikandar Lodi

Islam and Hinduism differ in fundamental aspects ; but they are not far removed from one another as they outwardly seem. They have an essential underlying unity which Kabir emphasised.

His parentage and career are obscure. The extant accounts compiled about his life rest on a mass of legends. That he was brought up as a muslim but grew up in a Hindu environment are facts which are generally admitted[1] The age in which he lived has, however, been a controversial point. A modern scholar, Pitambar Datt Barthwal has mainained in his work, "*Yoga Pravaha*" that Kabir did not flourish in sultan Sikandar Lodi's time.[2] Shyam Sundar Das, however, in his *Kabirgranthavali*, has referred to certain verses which associate the saint with sultan Sikandar. They are as follows :—

गंग गुसाइन गहिर गँभीर। जंजीर बाँधि करि खरे कबीर।

गंगा की लहरि मेरी टूटा जंजीर। मृगछाला पर बैठे कबीर ॥3

"The Deity of the Ganges— was deep ; Kabir stood there bound hand and feet,

The ripples broke asunder the fetters and Kabir was found seated on the deer-skin.

According to Shyam Sundar Das Kabir, when ushered in the presence of the sultan, declared that he was an incarnation of God. He was tried for this blasphemy by a *qazi* and pronounced a *kafir*. Sentenced to death, he was thrown into the Ganges but was seen seated on a dear-skin above the water.

According to the *Grantha Sahib*, Kabir himself is said to have composed the following verses :

अहो मेरे गोब्यंद तुम्हारा जोर, काजी बकिवा हस्ती तोर ॥

बाँधि भुजा भलैं करि डार्यो, हस्ती कोपि मूंड मैं मार्यो ॥

मार्यो हस्ती चीसा मारी, वा मूरति की मैं बलिहारी ॥

महावत तोकूं मारौं सांटी, इसहि मराऊँ घालौं काटी ॥

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1 Macauliffe. *Sikh Religion*, VI 122-141
Shea and Troyer, *Dabiston*, II 186-191
Jarrett, Ain II, 171-72

2 *Yogapravaha*, published from Kashi Vidyapith, Benares, 1946

3 Shyam Sundar Das, *Kabir-Granthavali*, Intr. 30

हस्ती न तोरै धरै धियान, वाकै हिरदै बसै भगवान ॥
कहा अपराध संत हौं कीन्हां, बांधि पोट कुंजर कूँ दीन्हां ॥
कुंजर पोट बहु बंदन करै, अजहुँ न सूझै काजी अँधरै ॥
तीनि बेर पतियारा लीन्हां, मन कठोर अजहूँ न पतीनां ॥
कहै कबीर हमारै गोब्यंद, चौथे पद मैं जन को गयंद ॥4

Oh my Lord (Govinda) ! Your might is my support,
The *qazi* ordered the elephant to be set upon me.
My arms were tied firmly,
The elephant was in rage and struck me on the head, but
after a while it ran away screaming, for this I am grateful to the Lord.
Oh the driver ! I shall strike you with a cudgel,
and at the same time kill the ego in me.
I saw that the elephant did not hurt me,
on the other hand, it began to pray,
because of the divinity in him.
I see the elephant fixed in meditation on me
but the blind *qazi* does not understand the
miracle wrought by the heavenly power.*

These lines uphold the view that Kabir was a contemporary of sultan Sikandar Lodi

1 Op. cit *Kabir Grathavali*, 8
* I am indebted to Shiva Nathji of the Hindi Department for drawing my attention to the above passage.